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AUTHOR	Chance, Norman A; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This summary report presents in highly condensed form some of the major findings and recommendations of an anthropological research study conducted among 1500 Cree Indians within a specified geographical area of north central Quebec in the years 1966-68. After a brief introduction, the study analyzes the historical roots of their underdevelopment, focusing on the considerable exploitation of the Cree by whites. The results are most visible in the cultural, economic, and geographic "enclave" in which the Indians reside. A second section of the report examined the social and cultural adaptations which the Cree have worked out in their efforts to survive in the changing world around them. The "opportunities" offered them by the dominant society are viewed from the perspective of their inadequacy in coming to grips with many viable features of Cree life. Values underlying present policies are discussed and recommendations made which involve: (1) increasing the economic opportunities of the Cree; (2) reorganizing and, thereby, rendering more effective, the educational system; and (3) establishing an Indian social development program. (TL)

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DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE
AMONG THE CREE INDIANS OF QUEBEC
(SUMMARY REPORT)

by
Norman A. Chance
with annexed contributions by
David E.W. Holden; Ignatius E. La Rusic;
Ronald M. Wintrob and Peter S. Sindell

McGill Cree Project (ARDA Project No. 34002)

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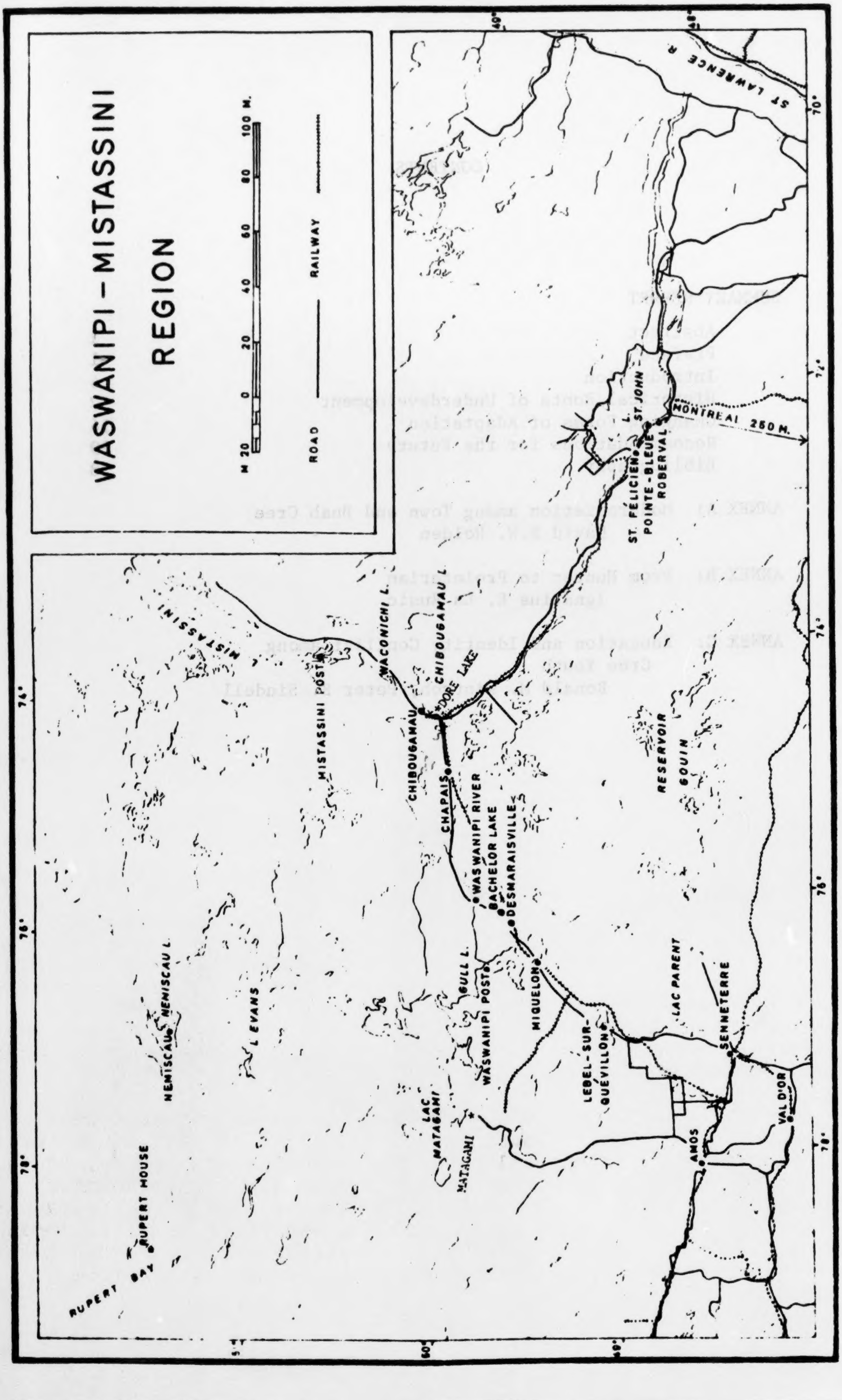
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ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT

Introduction

Most of Canada's industrially developed sectors have the capability of increasing their socio-economic opportunities and choices. By this same criterion, the majority of Canada's Indian population are largely underdeveloped. This condition is maintained both by external constraints such as geographical and social isolation, lack of adequate opportunities for education and vocational training, unavailability of proper health and welfare services, and discrimination; and by internal social and psychological traits which promote ineffective and self-defeating behavior which minimizes even those economic and social choices that are available.

Given these conditions, the major question posed in this report is: How can economic, social and political opportunities for development be maximized for Quebec's northern Cree and similar Indian groups without destroying their right to be culturally different? The proposed answer requires first, an understanding of the historical character of Indian-white relations including the stresses promoted by such a relationship; second, ways in which the Indians have tried to adapt to these stresses; and third, how present government policy for Indians may be revised in such a manner as to account for these adaptations in planning future strategies of change and development.

Historical Roots of Underdevelopment

The history of Indian-white relations reflects considerable exploitation of the former to the benefit of the latter. This disadvantaged relationship is particularly apparent in the "enclave economy" of the Indian, where economic choices and opportunities are severely limited both on and off the reserve, and where economic development is biased in favor of the developer over the native resident. Decreasing applicability of the Indian's traditional bush skills in a new industrializing north further strengthens this pattern of underdevelopment and economic integration into poverty.

The Indian is also trapped in an "enclave society" where communication with the outside world (Indian as well as white) is limited by geographical isolation; where missionaries, traders, and other white intermediaries have often discouraged contact outside the Indians' own cultural perimeter; and where opportunities to develop new leadership skills and other forms of social competence are severely lacking. Constraints limiting the development of political awareness and involvement that promote criticism of the existing order are also not uncommon.

Given these conditions, it is nevertheless clear that the impact of economic, social and political constraints on the Indian varies according to the level of development. Economically advantaged Indians have before them a fairly wide range of opportunities and choices, including those devoted to strengthening their own cultural heritage. Economically deprived Indian groups have very minimal choices. Those nominally advantaged Indians lying between these two extremes have been able to adapt and at the same time maintain a cultural identity as Indians. However, many of the ecological, social and cultural accommodations worked out in the past seem less and less applicable today. New adaptations are required. Understanding these new adaptations helps to explain why removing the barriers to Indian underdevelopment will not necessarily bring about the integration of the Indian into the Canadian mainstream.

Changing Forms of Adaptation: The Cree of north central Quebec

The north central Quebec Cree long ago worked out a set of social and cultural adaptations to the changing world around them. For many, these adaptations are still meaningful today. They include a social life patterned around the winter hunting-trapping group and summer trading post encampment, childhood training in individual competence and self-reliance, reciprocal social relations which emphasize sharing and mutual aid, and techniques of decision-making which minimize aggressive behavior that might threaten the harmony of the group. Cultural adaptation includes dependence on supernatural power which pervades all living things in the universe, restraint and control in all interpersonal relations, and the development of a personality which is "inward" rather than achievement-focused, non-competitive, reticent, fatalistic, and quietly enduring in the face of hardship.

New opportunities for gaining cash wages in pulp cutting and mining have drawn some Indians to nearby lumber camps and towns. Many others residing on the reserves feel that the old bush life will disappear in the fairly near future. As the Indians give up bush life in favor of semi-permanent settlement on the reserve or in nearby villages and towns, they must find ways of adapting to a far greater complexity of social and economic life than previously experienced. Not only must they learn to act in different ways, e.g., punching a time clock, but they must learn to think differently as well. For many Cree, the social and cultural stresses brought about by this condition promote adaptive mechanisms which reduce the accessibility of existing economic opportunities. These "negative" adaptive mechanisms utilized by the Cree include rejection of jobs perceived as involving more complex role demands, or requiring broader cognitive understanding and reliance on Euro-Canadian intermediaries or "cultural brokers" who, in giving assistance, negate other efforts aimed at stimulating self-government, community development, or similar programmes. In other words, there are many viable features of Cree life, quite distinct from those of Euro-Canada, which make social and economic "opportunities" offered by the dominant society not sufficiently attractive for the Cree to commit themselves to change. Younger Cree, who do attempt to synthesize their two worlds, face an equally difficult adjustment, primarily due to the external constraints referred to earlier. Reduction of external constraints and increase in internal motivation and social competence can, however, be greatly aided by changes in government policy.

Recommendations for the Future

Following a discussion of values underlying present Indian policy, four recommendations are made involving (1) establishment of economically viable reserves, (2) establishment of a regional economic corporation directed by Indians, (3) reorganization of the educational system to promote more effective learning and increase competence in both the Indian and Euro-Canadian society, and (4) establishment of an Indian social development programme to promote social and political development among Indians and encourage effective bridges between Indians and whites.

Preface

This summary report of the Cree Developmental Change Project presents in highly condensed form some of the major findings and recommendations of an anthropological research study conducted among the Mistassini, Waswanipi, and Nemiscau Cree Indians of north central Quebec in the years 1966-68. The reader should also turn his attention to more detailed technical papers and monographs appended to this summary report.

Very broadly stated, the long range goals of the Project are, first, to increase our understanding of the problems of economic, social and political underdevelopment of the Cree; and, second, to attempt to outline a series of policy recommendations and strategies relating to the Cree and similar Indian groups that will assist in accelerating their economic growth, and social and political development. Following the outline of our original research proposal, particular attention has been given to determining: (1) how government and private assistance may best be utilized in maximizing Indian development; (2) how techniques may be devised to stimulate greater occupational and geographical mobility for Indians engaged in traditional jobs which they feel are no longer economically rewarding; and (3) ways in which the Indian can take a more active role in local, regional and government development programmes and activities in such a manner as to promote greater national consciousness and understanding without losing their own cultural heritage.[1]

Given the nature of the task, this report is of necessity critical of certain policies, programmes, attitudes and actions of certain groups, governmental and private. It is strongly supportive of others. It is hoped that the criticism is taken constructively rather than personally, and that it will lead to debate and to further improvement. Errors of interpretation are bound to occur in a research project of this magnitude, and we in turn welcome criticism and suggestions for improvement from others.

Finally, acknowledgment and appreciation must be given to ARDA, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, for their generous support of the research over the past three years. Other funding has been provided by Laval University, Centre d'Etudes Nordiques, and McGill's Committee on Northern Research.

In addition to this funding, invaluable assistance has been given to Project staff by Dr. Katherine Cooke, Sociologist, ARDA; Mr. Roméo Boulanger, formerly Quebec Regional Director of the Indian Affairs Branch, and his staff; and most important of all, the Mistassini, Waswanipi, and Nemiscau Indians of Quebec. In my capacity as Director of the Project, I would

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[1] A more detailed discussion of the history and orientation of the Project is contained in Chapter 1, "The Cree Developmental Change Project," Conflict in Culture: Problems of Developmental Change among the Cree, edited by N.A. Chance, forthcoming.

also like to express appreciation for the creative energy and efforts of the Project staff who have committed so much of their interest and time to achieving the aims of our research. All members of the Project have worked in such a manner as to demonstrate fully the value of team effort in a research undertaking.

Introduction

Development is said to occur when members of a given society designate some form of change as constituting advancement or "progress", and then attempt to implement this change so that succeeding generations differ from preceding ones along specifiable lines. Viewed in this "subjective" context, development not only requires an awareness that change is possible, but that the participants have an opportunity to work actively toward chosen ends according to their perceived needs and values.

An alternative "objective" approach to development emphasizes the more universal structural features of this process, such as the acquiring of industrial technology which requires major readjustments within and between societies. Development, in this sense of the term, is often equated with modernization.

Viewed from either perspective, development seldom takes place within a social vacuum. When a given sector of society organizes its energies to achieve certain goals, it sets itself apart from other sectors whose ideas and actions are devoted to different ends. So, too, as a society becomes modernized through industrialization, important differences begin to emerge between an advancing industrial sector and a more slowly changing backward tribal, peasant or rural sector. The advanced sector is characterized by people who are able to act in such a manner as to increase their opportunities and choices. In contrast, opportunities and choices of the backward sector are not only limited by geographical or social isolation, lack of educational skills and discrimination, but by numerous actions of their own which are ineffective and self-defeating.

A fundamental question facing Canada -- as well as the rest of the industrialized world -- is how to increase the opportunities and choices of its backward sector. When this sector includes members of different cultural groups who wish to maintain their cultural distinctiveness, the original question becomes even more complex: how can opportunities be increased for these groups without destroying their right to be culturally different?

The large majority of Canada's population are members of an advanced industrial sector. Among the members of the underdeveloped sector are most of Canada's 230,000 Indians. Our research data are drawn from one small segment of this cultural minority, the 1,500 Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemiscau Indians living in 10 communities and settlements 400 to 800 miles north of Montreal in north central Quebec. The results, when placed together with similar studies undertaken in other parts of Canada, suggest a mosaic of economic hardship and cultural dislocation deserving immediate attention by those in a position to take action.

For much of Canada's history, a curtain of geographical and social isolation has rendered these people invisible to all but the government agent, missionary and trader. Now, as industries move north and Indians begin to move south, this curtain is being torn away. Newspapers, magazines, television and radio reports increasingly deal with conditions of contemporary Indian life, often highlighting problems of poverty, education, ill-health, discrimination, and lack of economic opportunity. Noting that 40 per cent of legal-status Indians are on relief, government committees and private research groups propose new programmes of economic and social assistance. Indians in northern "reserves" and southern squatter settlements and cities increasingly voice their own opinions and strategies of change through newly organized associations, protest groups and legal briefs.

The response of white Canadians to this portrayal of Indian poverty and cultural separateness is one of concern mixed with frustration over what action to take. Most southern Canadians view the Indian as economically and socially deprived, and look to the federal and provincial governments to implement efforts aimed at bringing the Indian up to a more advanced standard of living. Acceptance of this attitude is reflected in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development policy, which proposes to reduce "...the economic and social gulf which, over the years, has increasingly separated Indians from full participation and involvement in Canadian society." Attempts in this direction include new programmes in community development, education, vocational training, housing, and other techniques designed to stimulate local self-government, improve standards of living, and increase provincial services.

Unfortunately, this approach commonly overlooks two important factors: (1) a lack of understanding of the historical character of Indian-white relations which has so dramatically limited the Indian's degree of access to the industrial sector; and (2) ways in which Indians have tried to adapt to the stresses caused by this disadvantaged relationship. In the first instance, the fundamental exploitation of the Indian is disregarded; the second reflects a lack of appreciation of attempts at cultural survival through adaptation. Yet, to exclude these two dimensions in strategic planning for Indian development is an error of serious proportions.

Historical Roots of Underdevelopment

All too frequently, problems of Indian development are perceived in a-historical terms, completely discounting the fact that previous relations between Indian and white have clearly affected the former's present status. Indeed, many efforts at development of Indian human and natural resources have been consistently biased in favor of Canada's more industrially advanced sector. This idea was given recognition in the 1967 Canadian Government Special Planning Secretariat report, "Profile of Poverty in Canada," which states: "These people

(Indians) were useful to the whites as the labor force of the fur industry, but they were not given the opportunity to compete with whites on their own terms...for the odds were too heavy." What were these multiple interlocking constraints limiting Indian development, and now have they affected their present economic, social and political conditions?

A prime example of this disadvantaged relationship has been the promotion of what Eric Wolf has called an "enclave economy." In 1867, following the enactment of the British North American Act, all Indians were placed under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Shortly thereafter, pressure from over two and one-half million settlers and immigrants resulted in large tracts of land becoming available for white settlement. At the same time, small reserves were set aside "for the use and benefit of Indians." By means of treaties and similar agreements, Indians soon lost access to much of their traditional hunting and fishing territories and were relegated to economically unviable tracts of land for which the right of ownership continued to reside in the hands of government. In the early period of Indian-white contact, the social and cultural changes wrought by these legal and economic considerations were fairly minimal. Drawn into a trapping economy by the lure of Western goods and services, Indians could still maintain much of their social and cultural life intact. Even during the first half of this century, the acquiring of items of modern technology, e.g., the outboard motor used to reach trapping grounds, enabled many

Indians to further strengthen their own cultural autonomy.

Following World War II, advanced technology and increased capital enabled Canada's business interests to move their industries farther north. In north central Quebec, pulp and paper companies and mine holdings now surround many northern Indian reserves and squatter settlements. Cree Indians living in this area traditionally have been trappers, hunters and fishermen, but rising economic aspiration, fluctuating fur prices, clearing of trapping grounds by lumber and mining interests, and loss of teenage family labor to residential schools have combined to force some residents to seek new forms of employment.

The economic, social and psychological impact of these changes on the Cree served as the initial impetus for our research study. Unfortunately, our results show that most of the new jobs now becoming available require greater technical training, bilingual and other skills than the Indian can command. Although some opportunities for vocational education and short-term job training are becoming available, the only option of the majority of Indians -- other than trapping, supplemented by government "rations" and welfare -- is to seek low-paying, unskilled jobs, which are often of short duration.

Not having formal property rights from their reserves, and given a legal status whereby they are exempt from actions by non-Indians for economic pledges made, the Quebec Cree have had almost no access to credit from banks or other private lending agencies, the one important exception being the Hudson's

Bay Company.

The enclave economy of the reserve system is further strengthened by placing the responsibility for decision-making involving the few resident industries, e.g., sawmills, in the hands of non-Indians. Minimally involved in economic decisions on the reserves, and finding themselves frequently exploited in casual jobs off the reserves, it is hardly surprising to find Indians exhibiting considerable frustration and confusion.

Our research strongly suggests that, as Canada's industrial sector seeks to develop northern Quebec's natural resources, these same forces further undermine the development of the Indian's human resources. The skills that once enabled the Cree to gain a livelihood from the sub-arctic forests and lakes have minimum applicability for the new industrializing north. The pace of change in providing the Indian with access to appropriate new skills is so slow as to further his underdevelopment and economic integration into poverty.

The impact of Canada's southern industrial sector is not limited to the promotion of an underdeveloped enclave economy. It has maintained the Indian in a social enclave as well. Actually, enclave settlements were very much a part of traditional Indian life throughout much of northern Quebec, due to geographical isolation and ecological conditions which severely limited the growth of large population clusters.

The first important communications link with the outside world followed the arrival in Indian territory of fur traders, missionaries, and occasional government officials. Whether for local economic exploitation, "protection" from the ravages of civilization, or other cause, most of these early white intermediaries discouraged the Cree from seeking greater contact outside his own cultural perimeter. Given the geographical isolation, language barrier, and other constraints, the northern-based white residents served as the only significant cultural broker for the Indian, passing on appropriate information and in the process filtering out whatever they perceived to be harmful either to their own or to the Indian's interests. No other communication channels were available that could widen his understanding of the larger society.

Although education, radio and increased contact with residents of new towns have brought the outside world closer, northern Quebec Indians still face today many of the same problems characteristic of an earlier time. The more extensive the contact between Indians and whites, the greater the inflow of white intermediaries. The Mistassini reserve community, for example, located close to white industries and towns, seems to receive a steady influx of Indian Affairs Branch personnel, economic development experts, housing specialists, technicians and labor foremen, health and welfare workers, and numerous other respresentatives of Canada's advanced southern sector. As was true for the fur traders and other earlier white intermediaries, almost all represent and are bound by sources of economic and political power which are external to the Indians in question.

Desiring to be of assistance, many of these contact agents nevertheless continue to insulate the Indian from the outside world. Indian Affairs personnel supervise the administrative organization of reserve communities; economic development experts take major responsibility for setting up fishing cooperatives, small sawmills, handicraft industries, and similar local enterprises; housing specialists meet with village leaders to discuss the various types of homes which can be made available to the reserve residents; white technicians and labor foremen often carry overall responsibility for maintaining large machines and equipment and for organizing daily work tasks; public health nurses reside in or regularly visit reserve-based clinics; welfare workers explain various assistance plans and fill out numerous official forms. Although some of these intermediaries, such as the community development worker, have been brought in to stimulate the Indian's own efforts at social development of his reserve communities, their success in Quebec has been minimal.

Training of reserve residents in social competence vis-a-vis the larger society is practically non-existent. For all the decrease in geographical isolation and increase in Indian-white contact, the reserves (and squatter settlements) in this region still remain social enclaves insulated from the outside society by white intermediaries whose occupational future is directly related to the Indian's continued residence in the area. This should not be taken to mean that the present reserve system should be abolished or that government services should be removed. Given the present conditions of Indian life, they represent one of the few sources of security available in a difficult and unpredictable world. Rather, the intervening wedge of white paternalism must be abolished. Only when the Indians replace whites as local community decision-makers and contact agents with the outside world can they meaningfully participate in determining the character and organization of their own social and cultural development.

Political constraints impinging on the Cree Indians are equally damaging to their overall development. Traditional forms of Indian leadership remained intact throughout much of the early period of Indian-white relations. In the more isolated Quebec reserves, they are still in effect today. However, where Indian-white contact is more pronounced, most traditional leaders, lacking English or French language and other skills derived from the industrially advanced sector, have been replaced by those whose major sources of power reside in their ability to communicate with whites, and, not infrequently, their willingness to implement white directives.

This pattern has been formalized in band councils organized by the Indian Affairs Branch as a stimulus to local self-government and to facilitate formal agreements undertaken by the two groups. A Quebec Indian Advisory Council was also organized to represent Indian opinion pertaining to government policy-making. In point of fact, Indians have had little opportunity to engage in meaningful policy questions. Instead, they have usually been given the task of implementing previously set government policy. Typically, band councils deal with such problems as allocations of new houses to older families, approve use of government loans to stimulate local economic development, and assist in designating welfare recipients.

Since implementation of government policy regarding the Indian can only succeed with the support of these quasi-political groups, any changes in their character merit particular attention -- a topic to be explored more fully later on. For the moment, these leaders can be viewed as a newly emerging form of Indian "intermediary" and, as such, an important focal point and potential catalyst influencing future Indian development.

Not to be forgotten in this very brief portrayal of economic, social and political constraints limiting Quebec Indian development are differences found among the Indians themselves. Most Canadians are at least aware of the gross differences in degree of isolation and standard of living between Indian groups. Certainly the Montreal-based Caughnawaga Mohawk steelworkers are recognized as being among the more affluent of Canadian Indians. Highly isolated Indian bands like the Nemiscau Cree of north central Quebec are, by southern Quebec standards, among the poorer. Others fall in between. This threefold distinction carries important implications for understanding strategies of development undertaken by both white and Indian Canadians.

The more economically advantaged Indians are able to fulfill most of their economic and social needs, and if they wish, they can maintain many of their more important cultural patterns intact as well. The Caughnawaga are a particularly good example. Economically integrated into the mainstream of Canadian society, they have also made the necessary adjustments in their social life so as to maintain a viable accommodation with the urban Montreal whites who surround them. However, economic integration and social accommodation have not resulted in a massive loss of their cultural values and beliefs. Although some Caughnawaga Indians have become completely assimilated into the broader Canadian society, have been "siphoned off" as it were, many have given considerable time and energy to strengthening their "Indianness." One recent example of this effort is the Caughnawaga Tribal Council's successful request to the Indian Affairs Branch that they hire a Mohawk language expert to assist their young people in improving their native language skills.

The economically deprived Indian, on the other hand, without land, money, education, language skills and other attributes that might assist him in maintaining some control over his environment, is largely forced by the dictates of his economic condition to accept whatever subsistence income is available, whether it be hunting, trapping, fishing, or low paying wage labor. Supplemental welfare checks and government rations still give him almost no room to manoeuvre.

Those Indians lying between these two polar types -- ones who have at least nominal control over their economic and social affairs -- represent a third important category of the modern-day Indian. Until recently, members of this group have been able to fulfill many of their usual functions as Indians. Hunting and trapping in winter, and encampment at reserves and trading posts in summer, represent a pattern which has been in existence in Quebec for several hundred years. However, the ecological, social and cultural accommodations worked out during this period are far less applicable today. New adaptations are required. Understanding the character of these changing adaptive stances helps to explain why the effective removal of the barriers to Indian underdevelopment will not necessarily bring about integration of the Cree into the Canadian mainstream in the manner envisioned by whites.

Changing Forms of Adaptation

There is considerable evidence to suggest that as man in the north exerts greater technological control over the natural environment, in the sense that these adaptations free him from physical environmental restrictions which limit his range of human choice, the more decisive will be the social and cultural factors in shaping the course of future events. This condition is particularly evident today in Canadian government-administered research stations and settlements largely staffed by transplanted "southerners" whose problems of adjustment relate far more to social and cultural factors than to physical and biological ones. A similar adaptive shift is just beginning to occur among northern Quebec's indigenous population as well.

In 1964, when our pilot project began, the entire population of the Waswanipi band (400 members) moved off their reserve in search of temporary or full-time jobs in lumber camps or with mining prospectors. The 900 Mistassini Indians have been less mobile, although more young men and a few women are moving off the reserve in search of new employment opportunities in Chibougamau, Chapais, and other regional centres of white population. The approximately 200 members of the more northern Nemiscau band are still sufficiently isolated geographically and socially that, except for the education of the youth, Indian-white contact is quite minimal.

For many of these Indians, the traditional environmental stresses and adaptive responses are still very much in evidence. The seasonal pursuit of fur, fish and game determine the tenor of their life. Each fall, small groups of related families travel by canoe to their hunting and trapping ground, returning in the late spring to their reserve. Winter is a time of hard work and considerable social isolation. Summer, in contrast, allows for more relaxation, dances, marriage feasts, trading at the local Hudson's Bay store, and other social events made possible by the temporarily increased population of the reserve community.

Physical environmental stresses associated with this hunting group pattern are considerable. Particularly serious hazards include severe climatic conditions, problems of illness and disease, accidents such as falling through the ice, axe-wounds, and similar misfortunes. Inability to obtain game brings hunger and the threat of starvation. These stresses relating to the physical environment are continual and their alleviation frequently requires assistance from others. As a result, social adaptations demand that hunting groups be sufficiently large to assist the individuals or families incapacitated by illness, accident, or lack of food; and at the same time sufficiently small so as not to overhunt or trap the designated territory.

Other social adaptations include definitions of hunting and trapping territories so as to reduce the social conflicts stemming from competition for scarce resources in a given region; reciprocal social relations between hunting group members, emphasizing sharing and mutual aid; a process of enculturation that stresses individual competence and self-reliance in a bush environment; strong solidarity between close kin, and particularly between fathers, sons, and brothers, who are responsible for the subsistence of the hunting groups members; and techniques of decision-making and social control which limit aggressive behavior thought to be a threat to the continued existence of the group.

These behavioral adaptations to ecological conditions are reinforced by a cultural system in which the Cree communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about the physical and social worlds around them. Two features of this cognitive organization are particularly pronounced: (1) restraint and control in all interpersonal relations, and (2) dependence on "supernatural" power which pervades all living things in the universe.

The non-assertive interpersonal aspects of this cognitive patterning are reflected in deep internal controls over the expression of aggression, fear, pain, hunger and other threat-provoking stimuli; and "inward" rather than achievement-oriented personality (illustrated by submission to dream control), lack of competition, boasting or any form of self-aggrandizement; quiet endurance in the face of deprivation or hardship; a fatalistic approach to the world; reticence in self-expression; and a general hesitancy to intervene in the lives of others.

Although the Cree subscribe to the teachings and doctrine of the Anglican church, they nevertheless maintain many of their traditional supernatural beliefs intact. Their belief system sees man as dependent on the power of an unseen force (Manitou) contained in all living things, including stones, animals, man, and spirits. These entities are ranked according to the amount of their power, with appropriate respect given thereto. This cognitive organization defines the behavioral environment of the Cree, providing the rationale for perceiving, judging, and explaining the world around them. Dreaming, for example, is not only classified in their taxonomic system as a form of reality, but it is considered part of the process of revelation by which individuals acquire knowledge about the external behavioral and unseen supernatural world. This belief system, to which has been appended certain elements of Protestant Christianity, serves as a vital part of their cognitive map by which all events and objects are perceived and understood. As such, it provides a form of cultural adaptation to the stresses of the physical and social environment impinging on them.

From the perspective of Canada's industrial sector, the majority of Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemicau Indians are highly undeveloped. Their low economic level requires maximum effort and time spent on the daily task of gaining a livelihood. Occupational specialization is almost non-existent. The small size of the population, fragmented into hunting groups through much of the winter and into fish camps in summer, is not a sufficient "critical mass" to allow for the emergence of social and political infrastructures necessary for internal growth. Geographical and social isolation effectively exclude them from actively joining together with members of other Quebec Indian bands or in non-Indian communities where the capacity for meaningful development is greater. Education of the young in residential schools away from the reserve provides the one significant access to the mainstream of Canadian society, but it does little to promote the present development of the reserve. New goals are defined and implemented by men who feel they can influence change in a given direction. The majority of Quebec Cree, never having discovered the experience of planned change, follow their traditional path. For these Indians, the ecological, social and cultural adaptations worked out over many generations remain largely in effect today.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree are beginning to change the character of their economic livelihood and social organization. New opportunities to obtain cash wages in pulp cutting, mining and mineral exploration do provide income for those willing to take temporary or permanent jobs off the reserve. Local Indian leaders are also pressing for a more viable economic base on their reserve, greater control over their own reserve industries, increased knowledge of and access to jobs off the reserve, fairer treatment in assignment of job tasks in pulp cutting and reduction in other forms of discriminatory employment practices, improved health and welfare services, and the placement of primary schools sufficiently close to the reserves so their children can live at home. Needless to say, attainment of most of these goals involves access to power which is still largely outside their grasp.

As the Mistassini and Waswanipi Indians begin to give up bush life in favor of semi-permanent settlement on the reserve or in nearby squatter settlements and towns, they must find ways of adapting to a far greater complexity of social and economic life than previously experienced. This increase in scale is reflected in more community-centred rather than hunting group-oriented decision making, greater conformity of behavior, a more precise sense of time, and a host of other social arrangements which tend to promote intra-group conflict and tension. Traditional modes of stress reduction whereby, for example, an individual or family left one hunting group for another, are no longer possible when employment or other considerations require permanent year-round residence.

Inter-group conflicts between Indians and Euro-Canadians, while not as severe as in some other parts of Canada, are nevertheless evident in such discriminatory practices as exclusion from hotel bars and lobbies. Furthermore, Indians often feel ill-at-ease with non-Indians when they lack a knowledge of proper social etiquette and other customs commonly practiced in the white world. In this region of Quebec, language is an almost insurmountable barrier to inter-cultural communication for those Indians who have had little or no education in French or English. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that Indians living temporarily or permanently in white villages and towns find that security gained from return visits to their reserves serve as an important focal point in their social adaptation.

That the Cree are increasingly having to act in terms of the non-Indian world does not imply that they are easily able to think in Euro-Canadian terms. As Pothier shows in his research, the opposite is the case, and herein lies the root of the problem of today's culturally-induced stress.[2] As we have already indicated, in many respect the cognitive organization of the Cree differs sharply from that of working and middle-class white society, a condition reflected in such non-assertive attributes as reticence in emotional expression, lack of achievement motivation or competition, and unwillingness to interfere with the activities of others. The Cree religious system also differs markedly from that of Protestant Christianity.

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[2] Reference to research reports completed by Pothier and other project members is found at the conclusion of this paper.

The early internalization of these attributes in the child - preparing him for later life in the bush - clashes sharply with Euro-Canadian cultural cognitions when a Cree youth enters school or looks for a salaried job. Obviously, this type of discontinuous learning exerts considerable stress on the young man at both the behavioral and cognitive levels. Under the circumstances, it is easy to understand why the modern Cree youth has a confused sense of self-identity, a topic reported on in detail by Wintrob and Sindell. To identify consciously with one way of life over the other, the young person must either reject those with whom he has had emotional ties since infancy, or, conversely, reject those upon whom he is now dependent for job opportunities, welfare, or other sources of economic and social livelihood. In either event, the young Cree faces a serious identity crisis. In school he has been taught to work hard and make his way in the modern world. If he returns home, he may be expected to follow many of the old traditions and practices of his Indian past, including, at least until recently, the custom of allowing his parents to choose his future marriage partner.

Adaptation to these culturally-induced stresses may take several forms. One may reject either the new or the old cultural system, or frame some kind of synthesis between them. However, as Wintrob and Sindell point out, it is difficult for many of the younger Cree to choose the first option, since their residence in school has not enabled them to learn the technical skills required for life in the bush. Either of the other two options demand some kind of adjustment to continuing intercultural confrontation. A common form of adaptation, also noted by the anthropologist George Spindler in his studies of the Menomini Indians, is to reject any roles which demand cognitively different or particularly complex behavioral or thought processes. Young Cree Indians who refuse to accept office work because they don't like to follow a rigid time schedule or because they "don't like working on the writing", figuring, or other task perceived as complex, is not uncommon.

Research by La Rusic on Indian-white patron-client relations shows a similar response in that many Cree continue to prefer dealing with "generalized" patrons, such as the Hudson's Bay store manager, where cognitive conflicts are minimal and where the complexities of economic transactions are largely handled by others. These paternalistic cultural brokers carry the responsibility of interpreting the white world to the Indian, and as such, are preferred to more "specialized" patrons, e.g., a personnel mine manager, whose relations with clients are far more impersonal and bound by the given transaction.

Tanner's study of Waswanipi and Mistassini "satellite" or squatter communities located immediately adjacent to white mining towns is particularly insightful in its description of the internal and external social and cultural constraints limiting Indian involvement in full-time wage labor. Although permanent jobs in the mines are available to the Cree, almost all Indian men prefer casual work in mineral exploration such as staking claims, line cutting, assisting prospectors and surveyors in the bush, and other part-time work which involves few entrepreneurial skills or commitment to regular work schedules. Prospectors and mining companies encourage this occupational choice. As one employer acknowledged: "If we employ whites to do staking, we have to pay them twice as much and they do a worse job."

Non-casual jobs entail work in the bush, e.g., trapping and commercial fishing on northern lakes, or in local industries. With very few exceptions the only industrial work undertaken by residents of these satellite communities is in the Indian Affairs sponsored fish processing plant at Matagami. Providing dependable summer-long employment, this occupation is notable in that all employees are Indian -- a condition which, except for visits by the IAB official, effectively removes all potential for intercultural conflict. Also important is the seasonal nature of the job (summer) and the irregular work schedule. Employees are expected to work long hours when the fish is delivered for processing but they have other periods when they can actively participate in their local community activities. Winter is also free for trapping or casual wage labour.

In contrast, the requirements of industrial work in the nearby mines is such that Indians choosing this occupation find it difficult to fulfill their community responsibilities. The tempo of casual or fish plant work, allowing large amounts of free time to engage in numerous Indian celebrations and other social affairs, conflicts sharply with the regular work schedule of the miner. All night wedding ceremonies or parties are poor preparation for the early morning work shift. To refuse to participate threatens the solidarity of the community and brings on greater effort at reintegrating the offending individual. Similarly, those with a steady cash income are expected to share their financial gain with kin and peers economically less fortunate -- a pattern of reciprocity common in a subsistence economy, but less appealing to those with bank accounts who no longer require this form of cooperative assistance.

For these and related reasons, the few Indians who have decided to take permanent jobs in the mines usually move away from satellite settlements into white towns. Those who remain try to synthesize their participation in two worlds by a pattern of casual labor mixed with more traditional forms of economic, social and cultural life. Contrary to the expectations of some optimistic economic development planners, residence in marginal squatter settlements adjacent to thriving mining towns does not promote industrialization of the Indian.

Even those Indians who move into white towns do not necessarily commit themselves to a white style of life. Tanner gives considerable evidence to show how Indians 'alter' the conditions of industrial work in the direction of traditional Indians practices, values and life style. Some men treat mining like a casual job, quitting every several months to go trapping, take a casual job or a holiday. Where they have been able to form broadly based friendship relations with their white employers enabling them to be rehired on their return, this integration of mining with casual and bush work has worked fairly well.

In those few instances where mining is taken as a semi-permanent occupation Indians like to work together as a team, preferably along kinship lines, where the group as a whole assumes responsibility for the task assigned in a manner similar to that of the hunting group. As Tanner points out, cultural factors also influence the Indian's perception of mine work. An accident may be perceived as resulting from natural causes or from someone using his supernatural power (mistapeo) against the victim. Following an injury, an Indian may decide to quit the mine unless his father has sufficiently strong spiritual power to protect him. These and similar examples quickly demonstrate the extent to which the Cree cultural beliefs carry over into an industrial work setting. Even in Chapais, where more than a dozen Indian families have held fairly permanent mining jobs for several years, social and cultural traditions strongly influence social relationships and patterns of thought.

The point to be emphasized here is that there are viable, though frequently unrecognized, social, cultural and psychological features of the Cree "way of life" which are quite distinct from those of Euro-Canadian working and middle class, and at least for the present, many of the economic and social "opportunities" offered by the dominant society are perceived quite differently by the Cree. This can even include job training programmes designed especially for the Indian, and particularly those which prepare the individual to live off the reserve.

Where economic or social development programmes of a broader nature are viewed as a threat to one's "Indian-ness", they too may promote an adaptive response which runs counter to the goals of the programme. It is here that all-Indian organizations become important in that they enable the individual to maintain a strong cultural identity while behaving in a context that is largely non-Indian, e.g., Indian social clubs in Provincial school systems or white towns.

Of far greater importance, however, are the newly emerging Indian political organizations. These groups which are gaining so much attention today, carry a tremendous responsibility for the future of the Indian. Their success as spokesmen for the Indian depend largely on the extent to which the more economically affluent and higher educated "elite" leaders join forces with the "nominally advantaged" Indian who is no longer able to follow his traditional life -- only by working together can they stimulate effective social development and political action directed toward betterment of their own position.

Obviously, a highly important mediating factor influencing the emergence and strength of these political movements is the strategy of policy-making and execution of development plans organized by the Canadian government.

Strategies of Change in Indian Development:

Recommendations for the Future

> "The basic objective is to help provide opportunities for Indians to realize their human potential and thus to be able to contribute to the fullest possible extent to the social, economic, and cultural life of Canada. This implies the right of the Indian people to equality of opportunity and treatment in achieving parity with the rest of the population in terms of health and housing, education and employment, economic and resource development, social welfare and local self-government, and above all the freedom to participate fully in all aspects of Canadian life."
>
> -From a policy statement of the Indian Affairs Branch, 1968.

Brief analysis of this succinct statement of present government policy quickly points up the underlying values which have implicitly shaped it. The idea that Indians should be helped to contribute to Canadian life carried the assumption that they have an important contribution to make, i.e., that they are worthy. Implicit in the right of equality of opportunity and treatment in achieving parity with other Canadians is the idea that Indians should make use of the opportunity when it is provided. Fundamental to the belief that Indians should have the freedom to participate fully in all aspects of Canadian life is the concept of integration with the rest of Canada.

Other questions may be raised, however. It is not clear, for example, whether the view that Indians have a contribution to make to Canadian life is based on their human potential or on their uniqueness as members of a distinct cultural group. Nor is anything said about Indians whose adaptive stance has led them to reject rather than strive for economic and social goals defined as appropriate by the larger Canadian society.

These Indians are often referred to as the "undeserving poor", the "lazy" and the "shiftless" on whom help is wasted unless they are willing to help themselves. Are Indians still considered worthy when they refuse to compete under conditions of equal opportunity? We don't know, for the latter conditions have yet to be met. What most people actually mean by equal opportunity is that if people have equal qualifications, they should have the same opportunity for advancement. This view simply disregards the earlier discussion of the disadvantageous relationship Indians have been under *vis-à-vis* white Canadians for so many years. Yet, given this past history, a very strong case can be made for preferential rather than equal treatment of the Indian in job opportunities and other economic, educational and social programmes, i.e., the Indian with less than equal qualifications deserves a better than equal opportunity.

Finally, it is appropriate to ask whether Indian rights include equal opportunity to develop their distinct cultures as well as to participate fully in all aspects of Canadian life. Full access into Canadian society is by no means an Indian freedom at the moment, but it if were, the implication is still that Euro-Canadian society has all the advantages and these should be shared with the Indian. This subtle form of white paternalism is all too frequently a hidden feature of the idea of Indian "integration" -- a paternalism which continues to devaluate the present and potential contribution of Indian ideas and culture to Euro-Canadian society. In so doing, negative stereotyping and Indian feelings of self-disparagement are further encouraged.

The reasons why the "freedom to participate" mode of thinking is so prevalent among non-Indians is not difficult to understand. Newspapers, magazines, television, and other forms of mass media have continually emphasized the economic and social plight of the Indian in comparison with the rest of Canada. Occasional protests by Indians themselves further highlight the Indian "problem". In today's thinking, most Euro-Canadians view the majority of Indians as economically poor, socially deprived, and politically unorganized. They are simply "backward". The idea that the Indian has something to give to solving the problems of modern Canada is rarely heard. Instead, Euro-Canadian culture is to be shared with the Indian.

As long as this attitude prevails, the Indian will remain underdeveloped. There is hardly any advantage to the Indian's associating himself with white Canadians where this association reinforces his position of inferiority. Pride in one's self and in one's cultural identity is required for effective participation in the regional or national life of one's country. How can this come about? Until now, this involvement has tended to occur piecemeal, where upwardly mobile Indians exhibiting the proper manifestations of working or middle-class culture infiltrated the larger society. Clearly, this is not good enough. Efforts to change attitudes of the larger population toward the Indian through mass media and education is not good enough either, for it is too slow. What is needed is a dramatic change in the economic, social and political development policy of the federal and provincial governments which assures all Indians, _en masse_, today, the right both of cultural autonomy and of equal access to the opportunities enjoyed by the more developed sector of Canada. Put most simply, changed structures enable changes in behavior which ultimately lead to changes in attitudes. One of the most effective ways to change opportunity structures is through government legislation and direct action.

The following premises drawn from our research findings, serve as the basis for our recommendations:

First, Canada's economically advanced sector has failed to provide the Cree Indians in our region of study with economic and social opportunities equivalent to those available to non-

Indians.

Responsibility for resolving the problem of Indian underdevelopment lies largely in the hands of Canada's industrialized population and its government representatives.

Canada is sufficiently advanced economically and socially to be able to use its major human and natural resources based in the south toward aiding Indian development in the north far more fully and effectively than it has thus far done.

The few government and private agencies concerned with Indian development in central and northern Quebec are seldom provided with the degree of decision-making power and funds to introduce effective measures to deal with the problems found except at the most minimum level.

Given the above, little serious effort can be undertaken to significantly improve economic and social conditions for Indians until key federal and provincial policy planners actively commit themselves and their agencies to real rather than token support for the principle of equal opportunity for Indians. In addition to these major structural changes at the level of government, changes must also occur in the attitudes and values of non-Indians residing in the region; and in the social and cultural life-style of the Cree so as to improve their technical skills and social competence to deal effectively with the world around them and promote their own cultural growth.

To accomplish this task, four sets of recommendations are proposed:

I. The establishment of economically viable reserves controlled by the Indians with sufficient natural resources to insure adequate incomes for the residents.

The key element in this recommendation is that the natural resources of expanded Indian lands should be firmly placed in the control of the community and its representative leaders.

II. The establishment of an Indian corporation which can receive direct grants and long-term low interest loans, to promote economic development on the reserve, to improve and initiate village services, and in other ways enable Indians to better utilize their natural and economic resources.

Directed by Indians, this corporation should have a regional focus, drawing members from the various bands in the area.

III. To undertake a major revamping of the educational system so as to reduce discontinuities in learning, sustain positive affective ties with parents, strengthen the student's self-image as Indian, and maintain his self-esteem, as well as prepare himself to be economically and socially competent in dealing with the institutions of the larger Canadian society.

This reorganization should include Indian representation on school boards and other associations where content and policy of school programs are determined; the teaching of early primary grades in the native language; the development of more effective adult education programs, and other measures designed to assist the Indian to synthesize his involvement in two worlds. (A more detailed preliminary set of recommendations on education are proposed in the report by Wintrob and Sindell submitted with this paper.)

IV. The establishment of an Indian social development programme, funded by the federal and/or provincial governments, which can assist in providing the mechanisms for the emergence of new Indian leaders, increase communication with other Indian and non-Indian groups, and promote local and regional community social and political infra-structure.

This programme could be funded through the above-mentioned corporation. However, its major purpose is social and political rather than economic development.

In discussing these four broad sets of recommendations, reference should be made to the report of the Hawthorne study. The Hawthorne Report gives high priority to proper training of Indians which in many instances will facilitate their leaving the reserves and finding employment in urban areas. (Recommendation #3 states: "Development of locally available resources should be viewed as playing a secondary role for those who do not choose to seek outside employment"). However, greater local resource development should be promoted for "...people in semi-isolated bands across the northern wooded belt." (Recommendation 17).

The Cree in our region of study are characterized by a strong desire not to leave the region and a significant economic potential. Since most Indians wish to remain in the area, our recommendations advocate far greater access to available natural resources and a massive infusion of funds in the reserves themselves. This, too, is in keeping with that section of the Hawthorne Report concerned with northern Indians:

> "The best hope for the former group (Indians from northern communities) seems to lie in the development of new industries in the north itself that offer potentially new opportunities for employment to Indians and Metis in the region. Migration and relocation of northern Indians, in brief, seems to promise greater economic gains where directed to new centres of growth in the north itself, rather from north to south." (p. 151).

Our major addition to this statement is the recommendation that Indians themselves become involved in the development of new industries and that they be provided with the means to do so.

In conclusion, this report should be made available to the Indians through the recognized councils of the appropriate Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemiscau Bands. If the proposed strategies for developmental change of the Cree cannot be implemented due to conditions listed in the premises to our recommendations, we suggest that a second related set of recommendations be designed specially for the Cree, backed up by every assistance possible from Project staff, reflecting the goals contained above.

If this effort is unsuccessful, we would follow and support the common recommendations of many commissions and research studies which propose a minimum list of priorities to at least provide the Indian with greater opportunity to improve his economic and social condition. We are convinced, however, that these minimum efforts will only encourage a culture of poverty leading the Indian into integration with Canadian society at the lowest economic level. Assistance in the promotion of a viable Indian culture is far more likely to insure their entrance into Canadian society at a level where they can contribute "to the fullest possible extent to the social, economic, and cultural life of Canada."

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ANNEX A

MODERNIZATION
AMONG TOWN AND BUSH CREE

David E.W. Holden

I. Introduction

The movement of Indians off the reserves and out of the bush to the towns of Quebec creates a special case of the need for social development. The Indians, who compose parts of an undeveloped society by almost any definition, are in contact with and slowly becoming a part of a highly complex industrialized society. At first glance they have all the possible positive aspects of their contacts at their disposal, with none of the problems inherent in building an industry that are faced by other undeveloped and underdeveloped societies. However, the very nature of the lack of development, both personal and social, of the Indians creates severe problems as to where, in what capacity and under what terms they will be brought into the larger society.

The main danger at present is that the movement of the Indians into mining towns will place them at the bottom of the social scale, and is apparently already doing so. The rates of Indian alcoholism, delinquency, and unemployment have been well documented and are much higher than the corresponding rates for the rest of the population. In addition, the high proportion of them subsisting on welfare payments only points out the severe nature of the problem.[1] These facts have been recognized, and ways to overcome them are being sought. However, before they can be overcome, the nature of the problem has to be well understood in terms other than the symptoms just mentioned.

II. Framework

The focus of this paper will be on the changes that have taken place and are taking place among Indians in becoming a part of the mining towns in Northern Quebec. The principal thesis of this paper is that the role structure of people who are developing or modernizing will change from their traditional patterns. The changes will be in the direction of having a larger number of relatively limited roles that are functionally disparate and involve many relationships with relative strangers in a non-traditional setting. This change will be from traditional roles that are functionally inter-related and involve a very limited number of friends and relatives. A secondary thesis is that the changes in role-structure will carry changes in orientation and attitude to place of residence, view of the future and to traditional practices.

The traditional occupational roles among the Cree are hunting and trapping during the winter and fishing during the summer. The winter occupations included the work done on the skins to preserve them for sale on return to the trading posts in the summer. These traditional roles are closely tied to the family structure, the religion and the traditional intra-band relationships that have been operating for a long time. At the other extreme, the least traditional occupational roles among the Cree are those that require the person to work outside his family setting in a milieu that is unfamiliar.

doing tasks that have nothing to do with the traditional activities in the bush. Between these extremes are occupations that permit the maintenance of some of the traditional patterns, be they working in a family group, with relatives or friends, or working in the bush.

The principal hypothesis of the study is that the most modernized Indians will be the ones most likely to have the roles that are the least like the traditional ones. And, on the other hand, the least modernized Indians will be those who have retained their traditional roles and who are operating with them in the most traditional locales. That is, the most modernized Indians will be expected to hold jobs that are within the industrialized modern society, and the least modernized will be those working as yet at trapping and hunting. In between should be found those who have jobs that have some of the features of the traditional pattern.

To function effectively within the industrialized world one needs not just to have a low level job that one holds for a while, but one which is held relatively permanently. It is only with relative permanence that the person is able to learn to perform his role adequately. Therefore, one can think of the most modernized Indian as the one who not only has moved out of his traditional environment and acquired a job in town, but one who does not work with his relatives, and one who has held his job with a relative degree of permanence. Holding a job permanently requires having attitudes and habits that permit the person to fit the needs of the employers that are over and above the mere acquisition of the technological skills required.

From the point of view of the Cree Indians, the above has a large number of ramifications. The issues raised, for example, include such questions as: How do patterns of attitudes vary between the people who live in the towns and the ones who live in the bush? Are there differences in the levels of satisfaction between these two groups, and how are these differences associated with differences in attitudinal makeup? Further, what other factors are associated with the differences and, is it possible to predict the kinds of persons who might be most able and willing to live in white communities? The intent of the paper is to explore some of these questions to show how they bear on the problems of adjustment to change by the Indians.

III. Sample

The sample surveyed, from which the data presented below, included 327 people over the age of 15, who were living in the Mistassini-Waswanipi areas in the summers of 1965 and 1966. They are all members of the Cree Indian group from that area. The interviewing schedule contained 235 questions from which only a few were selected for use here. The questions used for this paper included items on the satisfaction the person has with reference to the place of residence desire to be trained for a job, and the type of job the person is seeking. In addition there are a number of items that are designed to measure the degree of attitudinal modernity -- a la Smith and Inkeles[2] -- although we did not use the same items.

IV. In-town vs. Out-of-town Indians

To establish the differences between the Indians living in the towns and those living in frontier settlements and at trading posts (at the time they were interviewed), they were compared on age and education. Table 1 shows the comparison between the "urban" and the "non-urban" Indians on Age, as measured by the decade they were born, and Table 2 compares them on the level of education they had completed. The number living in towns was quite small compared to those living out of town. The differences between the relative ages of those living in town compared to those living out of town was quite small. The Indians living in town were marginally older - about 4 months - than those living in the frontier settlements and trading posts. However, the Indians living in town had about a year and a half more schooling than did the others. Table 3 demonstrates quite clearly that it is the younger Indians who had the higher average education - about one and a half years more schooling - than did those living elsewhere.

Schools for Indians were made available only very recently. Almost none of the Indians over 35 have been to school. It is therefore somewhat surprising that the better educated in town Indians are slightly older on the average than the less well educated Indians living in the frontier settlements and trading posts.

These differences were insufficient to indicate the variability between the people living in and out of the white towns. To attempt to get at the differences, the model suggested by Smith and Inkeles of overall attitudinal modernity was used. The scale developed by them and the items used by them were not available -- largely because the data were gathered prior to the publication of the OM scale. However, using their scale as a guide,[3] a number of items were selected from the interviewing schedule that might be indicative of a similar dimension. The items selected included: the possession of items that would be of little use in the Indians' traditional hunting-trapping-fishing activities, but would be useful or desirable in another context; the answers to questions on what constituted a good life; and the type of job a person would like; the answers to three forced choice questions on education, occupation, and the source of advice; and, finally, at least one summer of work in mining, an occupation that is least like traditional activities. From the list of possible candidates for the scale of modernity, eight items were selected. These were selected either because they were significantly related, at the 0.01 level using Fisher's z transformation, to living in white towns, or were significantly related at the 0.05 level with both living in town and education. The eight items appear in Table 4.

In building a scale from the eight items, attempts were made at setting up a Guttman scale, and at using Stuckert's[4] technique of configurational analysis to see if urbanization could be predicted. Neither of these techniques worked, as a consequence a simple Likert scale based on the eight dichotomized items was used, see Table 4. Although there is a strong, expected relationship between the score obtained on the scale and living in white towns, the differences between the population of Indians living in and out of towns were not significant, see Table 5.

The differences between the in town and out of town Indians is not significant at the .05 level. They would have been had the three low scoring individuals of the in-town Indians been excluded from that group. All three of these people were interviewed in the same town. They were living on the edge of town in tents, and had not become a part of the group of people who were living and working as members of that town. Their other characteristics were more similar to those of people living at the trading posts and frontier settlements than those who lived in the white towns. In contrast to these three people is the group of nine Indians who lived out of town yet still had reatively high modernization scores. These had scores more like those living in the towns. It is interesting to note that be least modernized in-town Indians were all women who had not worked for a wage. On the other hand, the most modernized out of town Indians had all worked for a wage at one time or another.

The modernization score was also run by age and amount of schooling. Both relationships were in the expected direction. The most modernized tended to be the youngest and the ones having gone the farthest through school; further, both correlations were significant. However, when the correlations between decade of birth and modernization score was controlled on education, the previously strong and significant relationship to age disappeared, see Tables 6 and 7 and also Table 3. That age disappears when education is controlled is hardly surprising. However, when age is controlled the relationship remains strong between the modernization score and the number of years the person spent in school.

The modernization scale, from the above appears to be relatively valid in that the scores run in the expected directions. Furthermore, the correllations with location and schooling obtained by using the modernization score are higher than all but one of the items making it up. That is the total eight point score is more closely related to the two original criteria for selecting the items than were the items making up the score.[5]

Using external criteria, to be sure the criteria that were used in establishing the scale, and the criteria of appearing to fit the model of Smith and Inkeles, the scale appears to be valid. With reference to the problem of internal criteria, an inter-correllation matrix was calculated for the components of the scale. In addition, each of the items was run against the sum of the other items in the scale, see Table 8. The correllations were all positive, and in each case the correllation with the sum of the other items was greater than with any single one of them. Furthermore, all but seven of the thirty-six correllations were significant at the 0.05 level.

That the validity of the score appears to be relatively good makes necessary the establishment of its reliability. This was done by breaking down the sample by the year in which the interviewing was done, and by calculating the standard deviations and the means of the four sub-samples. The sub-samples in two cases are small, but it is striking how similar the results are for a time comparison between the in-town people and the out-of-town people. What makes it even more striking is that the people interviewed in 1965 belonged to a different population than those interviewed in 1966, see Table 9.

From the above we can say that the score appears to be a valid and reliable measure of something we have referred to as modernization. Thus far the empirical reality appears to agree with the prediction that there would be differences between people who had adjusted to modern society and those who had not. This, however, is insufficient to answer to the problem, as it predicted that the difference would reflect a difference in orientation and in attitude about a number of important variables. In addition, it predicted that the roles of the people living in the towns would be quite different to those of the people living out of town.

V. Occupational roles

One of the ways of being different for an Indian is to work for wages instead of doing the traditional activities of fishing, hunting, and trapping. There is a pattern of activity for wages that fits quite close to the traditional activities in that they take place in the "bush" and make use of the skills acquired in hunting and trapping. In addition there are a large number of activities engaged in by the Indians that do not fit the traditional patterns. However, the first break in the traditional pattern is the working for wages. As most of the work done for wages is during the summer, the winter being devoted to the very important activity of the trapping of fur bearing animals, we determined the activities of the Indians interviewed for two summers and one winter, see Table 10. The paradigm predicted that the Indians living in town would be more likely to hold jobs than those living out of town. This was also expected because of their greater access to the job market because of proximity to it. The expected did not turn out to be the case. Apparently the availability of "bush" jobs for wages is such that to the Indians living out of town jobs are as accessible to them as they are to those living in town. The out-of-town Indians work at jobs that make use of their knowledge of the bush, and the employers who hire them seek them out to make use of this knowledge.

An interesting anomaly in Table 10 is the proportion of people living in town who did not respond to the question when asked about their activities. A possible explanation for this is that the Indians living in town who had work were willing to describe it, while those who did not have work may have been ashamed of the lack, or felt that it cast them in a bad light with the "white" interviewer and did not respond to the question. This suggests that they have somehow acquired the knowledge that there is a norm for work in the towns.

If this tentative explanation is true, then the most modernized unemployed Indians are the ones most likely to not respond to the question rather than report their being unemployed. This appears to be confirmed in Table 11, in which the people with modernization scores of four or more which constituted almost one-fifth of the unemployed population provided almost one-quarter of the non responses to work "this" summer. The correlation coefficient between modernization score and not responding to the question about work this summer instead of reporting not working is r=0.12, and is significant at the 0.05 level (x^2=15.92, df=7).

With reference to the population studied, one of the most striking aspects of it is the fact that only 19 of the 327 respondents held jobs during the two summers and one winter covered by the survey or went to school during the winter and worked both summers. The others held jobs only part of the time, and spent the rest either doing nothing or occupied in one of the traditional activities. The mean modernization score for the 19 people who best seemed to fit into the modern society was 3.52, which was almost exactly one standard deviation above the population mean. The modernization score for those who worked or went to school in one or two periods was 2.68 and 2.35 respectively, and for those who neither went to school nor held jobs in any of the three periods was 1.97, see Table 12. There is a positive relationship between modernization score and the regularity with which the person participated actively in the economic or educational system of the whites (r=+.2085).

Table 13 provides the activities of the respondents living in and out of white towns for the three periods. For the people not living in towns, the majority was either unemployed or engaged in traditional occupations at all times. The proportions working at non-traditional activities varied from a high of 34 percent for the people living in town for the period "last summer" to a low of 15 percent for the people living out of town during "last winter."

The one thing that emerges from the examination of the previous tables and Table 14 is the almost complete lack of stability in the occupations of the respondents who have worked at non-traditional jobs. Furthermore, the traditional pattern of hunting and trapping in the winter and of either doing nothing or fishing in the summer is still dominant. Those who do not follow the dominant pattern appear to work for a time at one thing, then either to stop, or to change jobs and work at something else. Only four of the 327 adults interviewed reported having the same occupation over the period that covered slightly more than one year. And only 19 were continuously employed or in school for the whole period. Part of the explanation for this is that many of the Indians seem to prefer to work only at seasonal occupations during the summer so they can be free to go trapping in the winter. Furthermore, many of the jobs available to them are the ones requiring the lowest amount of skill to do acceptably. The lack of occupational stability appears to be a function of the Indians' inability to fit into the pattern of behaviour that is expected and desired by the employers, and may also be due to the preference the white employers have of hiring people like themselves. At any rate, the Indians appear to be the first to be let go when there is a lack of work and the last to be hired when there is work available.

Now to answer the question that was raised at the beginning of this section: Do the people who have higher modernization scores have different occupational roles, or do they tend to have the same roles possessed by the less modernized? Table 15 shows that in spite of the fact that there appears to be no relationship between holding a job and modernization, once the person is working, those with higher modernization scores tend to have jobs different than those with lower scores. The people with higher scores appear to get jobs in mining, with prospectors, as laborers or as guides. On the other hand, people with lower scores tend to get jobs in house building, in sawmilling, linecutting, woodcutting and handicrafts. Interestingly, the ones with the highest scores tend to be in school in winter. Again the differences are not great, and people of low scores can be found in occupations that have a high average score, and vice versa. However, the tendency is clear. The majority of the people working in the occupations in which the modernization scores were low tended to be working with other Indians in an Indian setting. The housebuilding and sawmill work reported was being done on the trading posts. The high scoring people appear to be more likely to work with non-Indians.

In sum, in spite of the prediction that the people living in town would be more likely to have jobs than those living out of town, no difference was found. Instead, the people living in town who did not have work tended not to answer the question on their activity, suggesting that they had acquired some appreciation that there was a norm for work in white society. This was confirmed in that people with high modernization scores were more likely to not respond than to say they were not working. It was also found that there was a great deal of instability in the jobs held by the Indians, and a high likelihood of people not having work. However, stability of holding a job was found to be positively related to the modernization score. And, finally, it was found that those with the higher modernization scores were more likely to have jobs that involved a higher degree of contact with whites, while those who had low modernization scores tended to have jobs with a relatively low degree of contact with whites.

VI. Orientation and Attitudes

A. Orientation to place of residence

Differences have been shown to exist between the people who live in the white towns and those who live outside of these towns. These differences are associated with the variables that are a measure of the adjustment of the Indians to the larger society. The intent of this section is to show how the differences previously described are reflected in the orientations the Indians have about the places they live in and with reference to the future of those places.

The questions used to measure the orientation of the Indians to the location of residence were: 1) Do you like living here in ________?", with the place name provided; 2) "How does this place compare with others?"; and 3) "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" All three questions were run by modernization score and by regularity of holding a job. As differences exist between people living in and out of white communities, this variable was also included.

With reference to the first question, whether they liked living there, about 85 percent of the respondents replied affirmatively. This positive affirmation was, however, negatively associated with modernization score and with regularity of holding a job, see Tables 16 and 19. The negative relationship was statistically significant at the 0.05 level to modernization. When the Indians living in town were separated from those living out of town, the relationship for the ones living in town was reversed, see Tables 17 and 20. And, the proportion of those liking the location of their residence decreased slightly. The relationships for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts remained essentially unchanged, see Tables 18 and 21, except that a stronger negative relationship was found to exist between regularity of working and liking of the location of residence for the people living out of a white town. Apparently a higher proportion of those who work regularly would prefer to live in white towns than those who do not hold jobs with regularity.

In answer to the question comparing the location of their residence to other places, the majority felt that it was better or the same. Forty-three percent of the people felt the place they lived in was better than others, see Table 22. However, this proportion increased to a small majority, 52 percent, for the people living in the white towns, see Table 23. On the whole there was a negative relationship between modernization score and regularity of work when these were run by this question, see Tables 25, 26, and 27. The direction of the relationship remained the same for both in town and out of town groups. And, even though there was a relatively strong negative relationship between modernization score and evaluation of the community relative to others for the people living in town, the relationship was not significant.

Orientation to the future for people who are becoming a part of modern society will have a great influence on their adaptation to the society and on their willingness to make the changes necessary. The third question was intended to measure this variable. A majority of the people responded in seeing better conditions in the future, and the majority was no higher for those living in the white towns, see Tables 28, 29, and 30. In addition a positive relationship was found to exist between having a favorable orientation to the future and the modernization score. This relationship was stronger for those living in frontier settlements. When the variable was run against regularity of holding a job, the relationship proved to be weak, see Tables 31, 32, and 33.

In sum, the majority of the people had a positive liking for their location of residence, were favorably or neutrally impressed with the way it compared to other places, and felt that conditions would improve over time.

B. Desire for job training

Another indication that the people are adjusting to modern conditions is that they are acquiring new occupational roles, and have the desire to acquire the roles. Presumably the most modernized and the ones with the greatest experience will be the ones who most would like to receive further training. This was determined, as was the type of training desired. The desire for training was expressed by approximately 49 percent of the respondents, see Tables 34 and 37. When the responses to this question were run by modernization score and frequency of holding a job, the relationships although positive were weak.

When the respondents were separated according to the location of their residence, the relationship was still weak, but was stronger for the urban Indians who had been working regularly. None of the relationships were significant. Therefore, although the direction of the relationships were as expected, they were too small to establish them, other than as possibilities, see Tables 34 to 39.

With reference to the type of training desired, the majority mentioned low level skills, and less than half of them, 64, mentioned jobs that were not bush-type. In addition, practically one-third of them, 45, were not certain about the kind of training they wanted. This would suggest that only a small proportion of the respondents, even the most modernized, do not as yet fully understand the requirements of living in a setting such as is found in the northern mining communities, see Table 40.

C. Use of drum in the bush

Finally, modernization includes adaptation to the religious orientation of the larger society. In this society the traditional practices of the Indians are treated with some scorn and amusement. The Indians are therefore likely to reject the traditional practices when these are elicited by white interviewers. The one traditional practice of the Indians that was sought was the use of the drum while hunting in the bush. The drum, apparently, is believed to allow the game to be more easily found and killed. Only 30 percent of the respondents claimed to use the drum in the bush, 64 percent denied using it, and the remaining six percent either refused to answer the question or gave an ambiguous answer, see Table 41.

Use of the drum was negatively related to the degree of modernization as measured by the score, both for the urban and the non-urban Indians, see Tables 41, 42, and 43. However, the relationship with the frequency of holding a job, although in the expected direction, proved to be too small to be statistically significant, see Tables 44, 45, and 46. Use of the drum while hunting was also negatively related with living in town, see Table 47.

The drum, when used in hunting, is used only by the principal hunter in the hunting group. This person is usually the senior, or best, hunter. He is likely to be the person who has proved himself most often as a good hunter. Therefore, use of the drum while hunting was run by age, see Table 48. The relationship found is in the expected direction, but proved to be weak and not statistically significant. This result is not altogether unexpected, as there were many relatively young men who said they used the drum, who also had low "modernization" scores. Hunting with the use of the drum is not likely to disappear with the death of the older men, but will be preserved for some time to come. The group that is most likely to lose this trait are probably the urban modernized Indians. From evidence in Table 43, the non-urban Indians appear to be keeping the trait.

VII. Summary and Conclusions

The focus of the paper is on the changes that take place when traditional groups adjust to modern industrialized society. A "modernization" scale was developed in order to show some of the differences that exist between the people who have adapted to living in town and those living in the bush. This scale was then used to compare the differences. Differences were found between the people living in town and those in the bush; in addition there were educational and age differences. The age difference disappeared when the relationship was controlled on education.

The occupational roles were examined, and a number of things came out. The in-town Indians, although no more likely to be employed at a job for wages, did tend to have jobs that were least like "bush" activities. The in-town Indians also showed signs of having become aware of a norm for work in white society. The most outstanding finding is the extreme lack of stability and permanence of occupation for practically all the people interviewed. Only about one percent were gainfully employed at the same job for a period of little over one year.

The majority of the respondents had a positive liking for their location of residence, were favorably or neutrally impressed with the way it compared to other places, and felt that conditions would improve over time.

On job training, the modernization score appeared to have no impact. The only positive relationship was that the Indians living in town who had worked with some regularity appeared to have the strongest desire for training. As to type of training, only a few mentioned non "bush" jobs, and most who mentioned wanting training wanted it for jobs with low levels of skill.

Finally, the use of the drum in the bush was associated with the least modernized groups that lived there. The most modernized in town Indians tended not to use the drum while hunting.

In conclusion, becoming modernized is associated with education, location of residence, occupational roles, and with changes in attitudes and orientation. Therefore, to bring about modernization would require changes at least in these five areas. It is not sufficient to make one change and allow the others to follow suit. All areas, i.e., the "total person" is involved in the change, and in order to avoid creating problems requires effort to be expended in them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hawthorne, H.B. (Ed.), A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, and Educational Needs and Policies, Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, October 1966 (mimeo), Vol.I.

2. Smith, David Horton and Alex Inkeles, The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity, Sociometry, Vol. 29, No. 4 (December 1966), pp. 353-377.

3. Ibid., pp. 364-365; The scale used as a guide is their "long form." They were able to reduce this to a fourteen item "minimum scale of individual modernity." Unfortunately none of the items that appear on this short scale were identical to the questions used in 1965 and 1966 when the data for this study were gathered.

4. Stuckert, Robert P., A Configurational Approach to Prediction, Sociometry, Vol. 21 (June 1958), pp. 225-237.

5. The problems of determining validity of scores is always difficult. The intent is to have a measure of something called modernization. The scale developed was based on

three things: (a) similarity in content to a previously established cross-cultural scale of attitudinal modernity; (b) relatively strong relationship to location of residence in a modern vs. traditional setting; and (c) a strong relationship to level of education -- a means by which people have adapted to modern society. These three criteria served to set up the scale, and the scale developed is more strongly related to the latter two criteria then were the individual items. The scale was therefore taken as a valid measure of the common characteristic of modernization that existed between the three original criteria.

Table 1. Location and Age

Location	Decade of Birth								
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	Total
Living in "white" towns	1	3	2	3	7	16	14	-	46
Living in frontier settlements and at trading posts	1	10	24	38	46	53	98	11	281
	2	13	26	41	53	69	112	11	327

$r = -.0243 \quad p > .05$
(using Fisher's transformation)

Note 1: Mean Age of sample: 34.5 yrs.

Mean Age of people in white towns : 34.8 yrs.

Mean Age of people in frontier settlements and trading posts : 34.8 yrs.

Note 2: The "white" towns included Chibougamau, Chapais and Matagami.

The frontier settlements and trading posts included: Mistassini Post, Doré Lake, Waswanipi River, Miquelon, Bachelor Lake, and Nemiscau.

Table 2. Location and grade completed.

Location	Grade Completed None	1-2	3-4	5	6	7	8-10	11-12	HS	Total
living in "white" towns	25	-	2	1	3	4	8	2	1	46
living in frontier settlements or trading posts	193	5	12	16	9	5	36	4	1	281
	218	5	14	17	12	9	44	6	2	327

$r = .1236 \quad p < .05$

Table 3. Decade of birth and grade completed.

Decade of birth	Grade Completed									
	None	1-2	3-4	5	6	7	8-10	11-12	HS	Total
1880	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1890	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
1900	25	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	26
1910	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
1920	47	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	53
1930	57	-	3	3	1	2	2	1	-	69
1940	31	5	9	11	10	7	32	5	2	112
1950	2	-	1	2	-	-	6	-	-	11
	218	5	14	17	12	9	44	6	2	327

$r = -.5745$ $p < .01$

Table 4. Items selected for a scale of modernity.

	correllations to:	
	Living in "white" towns	Grade Completed
1. Ownership of a washing machine.	.3887+	.0459
2. Worked at least one summer in the mines.	.4300+	.0997
3. Answered "job or money" to the question "Why do you think a person has a 'good life?'"	.1353*	.0044
4. Mentioned a "profession" in answer to "Do you think of any other job I did not mention that you would like to place on the list?"	.1258*	.2800+
5. Mentioned a daily paper in answer to "What are the newspapers, journals or magazines you read?"	.1109*	.5534+
6. Chose "Children should stay in school longer" over "Children should leave school and return to learn Indian ways."	.2628+	.3341+
7. Chose "Indians should stop trapping and get jobs" over "Indians should not stop trapping."	.1868+	.2668+
8. Chose "People are better to listen to whites" over "listen to old people."	.2585+	.0945

Note: * $p < .05$
+ $p < .01$

Table 5. Location by modernization score.

Location	Modernization Score 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Living in "white" towns	-	-	3	11	18	9	3	2	46
Living in frontier settlements and trading posts	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	-	281
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = .4755$ $p < .01$

Sample mean = 2.24, $\sigma_s = 1.32$
In white towns mean = 4.09, $\sigma_w = 1.16$
Out of white towns mean = 1.94, $\sigma_o = 1.41$

Table 6. Age by modernization score.

Decade of Birth	Modernization Score 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1880	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
1890	2	5	3	-	1	2	-	-	13
1900	7	10	2	6	1	-	-	-	26
1910	7	16	6	7	4	1	-	-	41
1920	9	13	11	11	4	4	1	-	53
1930	8	13	19	12	12	2	1	2	69
1940	14	13	26	22	28	5	4	-	112
1950	-	3	3	1	3	-	1	-	11
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = -.2508$ $p < .01$

Table 7. Grade completed by modernization score.

Grade Completed	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No school	41	65	46	35	22	8	-	1	218
1-2	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	5
3-4	1	2	6	2	2	1	-	-	14
5	2	3	5	5	2	-	-	-	17
6	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	-	12
7	-	-	2	1	5	1	-	-	9
8-10	1	3	6	12	17	1	3	1	44
11-12	-	-	-	1	2	-	3	-	6
High School	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Total	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

r = .4306 $p < .01$

Table 8. Intercorrelation matrix of the components of the modernization scale.

	1 r=	2 r=	3 r=	4 r=	5 r=	6 r=	7 r=	8 r=	Sum of other items, r=
1. Ownership of washer	-	.29	.03	.18	.04	.12	.13	.16	.43
2. Worked in mines		-	.11	.14	.13	.16	.10	.03	.40
3. People have good lives because of job or money			-	.14	.02	.14	.11	.23	.51
4. Would like a professional job				-	.03	.20	.08	.11	.45
5. Reads daily paper					-	.16	.17	.15	.43
6. Said "children should stay in school..."						-	.29	.26	.57
7. Said "Indians should stop trapping..."							-	.32	.59
8. Said "people should listen to whites..."								-	.61

Note: Correllations equal or greater than .11 are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 9. Test - retest reliability of modernization score relative to locality and year interviewed.

Modernization Score	Interviewed in				
	1965		1966		
	In town	Out of town	In town	Out of town	Total
0	-	19	-	28	47
1	-	27	-	47	74
2	-	33	3	34	70
3	7	14	4	34	59
4	7	12	11	24	54
5	1	1	8	4	14
6	-	3	3	1	7
7	-	-	2	-	2
Totals	15	109	31	172	327
Mean	3.60	1.89	4.32	1.97	2.24
Std.Dev.	.61	2.02	1.64	1.66	1.32

Table 10. Working for wages "last summer," "last winter," and "this summer" by location of residence.

Activity	Last Summer		Last Winter		This Summer	
	In town %	Out of town %	In town %	Out of town %	In town %	Out of town %
No work	26	34	2	3	2	34
No response	17	20	41	12	59	31
Hunting, trapping, fishing, and housekeeping	22	13	35	65	17	7
Work for wages and attendance at school	35	33	22	20	22	28
	100 (46)	100 (281)	100 (46)	100 (281)	100 (46)	100 (281)

Table 11. Activity "last summer," "last winter," and "this summer" by modernization score.

	Modernization Score								
Activity "last" summer:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No work	19	30	22	21	10	5	1	-	108
No response	10	13	19	12	8	-	1	-	63
Work	18	31	29	26	36	9	5	2	156
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327
Activity "this" summer:									
No work	19	27	17	18	10	1	2	-	94
No response	17	23	33	14	17	6	3	2	115
Work	11	24	20	27	27	7	2	-	118
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327
Activity "last" winter:									
No work	3	5	4	5	2	2	-	-	21
No response	9	10	8	4	12	5	4	1	53
Work	35	59	58	50	40	7	3	1	253
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

Table 12. Seasons of holding a job or going to school by modernization score.

	Modernization Score									
No. seasons with job:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals	
0	30	39	39	29	23	5	1	-	166	1.97
1	10	22	12	14	16	3	4	1	82	2.68
2	6	12	16	13	10	1	1	1	60	2.35
3	1	1	3	3	5	5	1	-	19	3.52
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327	

$r = +.2085$ $x^2 = 44.31$ $p < .01$ df = 21

Table 13. Activity by location and season.

Type of Activity	Season					
	Last Summer		Last Winter		This Summer	
	In town	Out of town	In town	Out of town	In town	Out of town
Mining	13	7	5	2	8	4
Prospecting	-	6	-	11	-	7
Laboring	1	7	-	-	-	-
Sawmill	1	10	3	12	-	-
Housebuilding	-	13	-	-	-	9
Woodcutting	1	45	-	-	-	49
Line cutting	-	-	-	-	2	6
Guiding	-	-	-	-	-	5
In school	-	-	1	19	-	-
Handicrafts	-	6	-	-	-	-
Housekeeping	10	36	3	19	-	4
Fishing	-	-	-	-	8	16
Hunting & trapping	-	-	13	165	-	-
Not working & No response	20	151	21	53	28	181
	46	281	46	281	46	281

Table 14. Regularity of holding jobs and location of residence.

Location	Number of seasons of holding a job 0	1	2	3	Total
Living in "white" towns	26	8	8	4	46
Living in frontier settlements and trading posts	140	74	52	15	281
Total	166	82	60	19	327

r = -.004

Table 15. Activity by season and modernization score.

Activity	Modernization Score																					
	0			1			2			3			4			5			6			
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	Mean Score
Mining	1	-	-	3	2	1	-	3	1	6	2	6	5	-	2	3	-	2	2	-	-	3.10
Prospecting	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	1	1	6	1	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2.92
Laboring	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2.63
Sawmill	-	2	-	3	3	-	4	5	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2.04
Housebuilding	3	-	1	5	-	-	1	-	3	2	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	2.14
Line Cutting	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.25
Woodcutting	7	-	5	12	-	14	13	-	7	9	-	10	3	-	11	1	-	2	1	-	-	2.08
Guiding	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.80
In School	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	3.45
Handicrafts	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Housekeeping	3	3	1	8	5	1	4	9	1	10	2	1	19	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2.48
Fishing	-	-	3	-	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	2.38
Hunting & Trapping	-	30	-	-	48	-	-	40	-	-	36	-	-	23	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1.91
Population:	19	35	13	33	61	25	26	59	19	32	55	32	35	36	23	7	3	6	4	4	-	2.24

Note: A = Last Summer
B = Last Winter
C = This Summer

Note 2: The original score contained mining as one of its items. This item was removed for purposes of this table.

Table 16. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in ________ ?" by modernization score.

Response	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response & no opinion	1	-	4	1	1	1	-	-	8
Yes	43	68	55	53	41	9	5	2	276
No	3	6	11	5	12	4	2	-	43
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = -.1539 \quad p < .05$

Table 17. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in ________ ?" by modernization score for those living in white towns.

Like it here	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response & no opinion	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Yes	-	-	2	10	14	7	2	2	37
No	-	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	7
	-	-	3	11	18	9	3	2	46

r = +.1822 p > .05

Table 18. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in _________ ?" by modernization score for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

Like it here	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response & no opinion	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	6
Yes	43	68	53	43	27	2	3	-	239
No	3	6	10	4	9	3	1	-	36
	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	0	281

$r = -.1732$ $p < .05$

Table 19. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in ____________ ?" by regularity of holding a job.

Like it here	Number of seasons with a job 0	1	2	3	Total
No response & no opinion	5	-	2	1	8
Yes	146	66	49	15	276
No	15	16	9	3	43
Total	166	82	60	19	327

r = -.0872 p > .05

Table 20. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in ___________ by regularity of holding a job, for those living in white towns.

Like it here	Number of seasons with job 0	1	2	3	Total
No response, no opinion	1	-	-	1	2
Yes	21	6	7	3	37
No	4	2	1	-	7
Total:	26	8	8	4	46

$r = +.0016 \quad p > .05$

Table 21. Responses to the question "Do you like living here in ________?" by regularity of holding a job, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Number of seasons with job				
Like it here	0	1	2	3	Total
No response, no opinion	4	-	2	-	6
Yes	125	60	42	12	239
No	11	14	8	3	36
Total:	140	74	52	15	281

$r = -.3700 \quad p < .01$

Table 22. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by modernization score.

Response	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, not sure	4	5	5	2	1	-	-	-	17
Better	26	26	25	29	23	8	2	-	139
The Same	16	25	27	15	17	3	1	2	106
Worse	1	18	13	13	13	3	4	-	65
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = -.0846 \quad p > .05$

Table 23. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by modernization score for those living in white towns.

How does this place compare?	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, not sure, never seen other places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Better	-	-	-	9	8	6	1	-	24
The Same	-	-	1	1	8	2	1	2	15
Worse	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	-	7
			3	11	18	9	3	2	46

$r = -.0122$ $p > .05$

Table 24. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by modernization score, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

How does this place compare?	Modernization Score 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, not sure, never seen other places	4	5	5	2	1	-	-	-	17
Better	26	26	25	20	15	2	1	-	115
The same	16	25	26	14	9	1	-	-	91
Worse	1	18	11	12	11	2	3	-	58
	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	-	281

$r = -.1350 \qquad p > .05$

Table 25. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by regularity of holding a job and location.

How does this place compare?	Number of seasons with a job 0	1	2	3	Total
No response, not sure, never seen other places	7	4	5	1	17
Better	81	36	18	4	139
The same	50	23	23	10	106
Worse	28	19	14	4	65
	166	82	60	19	327

r - -.1620 p< .01

Table 26. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by regularity of holding a job and location, for those living in white towns.

How does this place compare?	Number of seasons with a job 0	1	2	3	Total
No response, not sure	-	-	-	-	-
Better	18	3	2	1	24
The same	5	3	4	3	15
Worse	3	2	2	-	7
	26	8	8	4	46

$r = -.2707$ $p > .05$

Table 27. Responses to the question "How does this place compare with others?" by regularity of holding a job and location, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

How does this place compare?	Number of seasons with a job 0	1	2	3	Total
No response, not sure	7	4	5	1	17
Better	63	33	16	3	115
The same	45	20	19	7	91
Worse	25	17	12	4	58
	140	74	52	15	281

$r = -.1231$ $p > .05$

Table 28. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by modernization score.

	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, doesn't know	7	10	8	5	1	1	-	-	32
Better	29	36	42	38	36	9	5	2	197
The same	3	13	10	8	12	2	2	-	49
Worse	8	15	10	8	5	2	-	-	49
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = +.0992$ $p > .05$

Table 29. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by modernization score, for those living in white towns.

	Modernization Score								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, don't know, don't think about the future	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	4
Better	-	-	1	7	11	7	2	2	30
The same	-	-	-	2	5	1	1	-	9
Worse	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
Totals	-	-	3	11	18	9	3	2	46

$r = +.0783$ $p > .05$

Table 30. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by modernization score, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Modernization Score								
	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response, don't know, don't think about the future	7	10	6	4	-	1	-	-	28
Better	29	36	41	30	26	2	3	-	167
The same	3	13	10	6	6	1	1	-	40
Worse	8	15	10	8	4	1	-	-	45
	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	-	281

$r = +.0917$ $p > .05$

Table 31. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by regularity of holding a job.

	Number of seasons with a job				
	0	1	2	3	Total
No response, don't know	20	6	4	2	32
Better	103	46	36	12	197
The same	19	16	11	3	49
Worse	24	14	9	2	49
	166	82	60	19	327

$r = -.0582$ $p > .05$

Table 32. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by regularity of holding a job, for those living in white towns.

	Number of seasons with a job				
	0	1	2	3	Total
No response, don't know	3	-	1	-	4
Better	18	6	4	2	30
The same	2	2	3	2	9
Worse	3	-	-	-	3
	26	8	8	4	46

$r = -.0394$ $p > .05$

Table 33. Responses to the question "Will the people here be better off or worse in the future?" by regularity of holding a job, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Number of seasons with a job				
	0	1	2	3	Total
No response, don't know	17	6	3	2	28
Better	85	40	32	10	167
The same	17	14	8	1	40
Worse	21	14	9	2	46
	140	74	52	15	281

$r = -.0459$ $p > .05$

Table 34. Desire for job training by modernization score.

Like job training	Modernization score 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	21	28	38	25	21	3	3	-	139
Yes	22	35	28	31	30	7	4	2	159
No	1	7	2	1	2	2	-	-	15
Not asked	3	4	2	2	1	2	-	-	14
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

r = +.0743 p > .05

Table 35. Desire for job training by modernization score for those living in white towns.

	Modernization Score								
Like job training	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	-	-	-	9	8	2	-	-	19
Yes	-	-	1	2	9	3	3	2	20
No	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Not asked	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	5
			3	11	18	9	3	2	46

$r = +.0268$ $p > .05$

Table 36. Desire for job training by modernization score, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts

	Modernization Score								
Like job training	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	21	28	38	16	13	1	3	-	120
Yes	22	35	27	29	21	4	1	-	139
No	1	7	2	1	2	-	-	-	13
Not asked	3	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	9
	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	0	281

$r = +.0847$

Table 37. Desire for job training by permanence of work.

	Seasons with job				
Like job training	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	74	27	28	10	139
Yes	69	54	30	6	159
No	9	1	2	3	15
Not asked	14	-	-	-	14
	166	82	60	19	327

$r = +.0277 \quad p > .05$

Table 38. Desire for job training by permanence of work, for those living in white towns.

	Seasons with job				
Like job training	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	12	4	2	1	19
Yes	8	4	6	2	20
No	1	-	-	1	2
Not asked	5	-	-	-	5
	26	8	8	4	46

$r = +.2423 \quad p > .05$

Table 39. Desire for job training by permanence of work, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Seasons with job				
Like training	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	62	23	26	9	120
Yes	61	50	24	4	139
No	8	1	2	2	13
Not asked	9	-	-	-	9
	140	74	52	15	281

$r = -.0065$ $p > .05$

Table 40. What kind of job would you like to learn in this kind of training.

Type of job	No. who want it.
No response	143
Woodcutting	8
Construction work	8
Mechanical training	16
Driving equipment/cars	6
Prospecting	6
Mining	2
Cutting lines	2
Drafting	3
Clerical, secretarial, stenographer	4
Social work	1
Carpenter	3
Sewing	21
Nursing	10
Housekeeping	4
Cooking	4
Stewardess	1
Home economics	1
English/French	1
Do not know, any kind of job	44
Not asked	29
Total:	327

Table 41. Modernization score by uses drum in bush.

	Modernization Score								
Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	2	1	3	2	2	0	1	-	11
Yes	22	29	24	12	8	3	-	-	98
No	22	39	42	43	42	11	6	2	207
Both	-	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	7
Don't know	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
	47	74	70	59	54	14	7	2	327

$r = -.2465 \quad p < .01$

Table 42. Modernization score by uses drum in bush, for those living in white towns.

	Modernization Score								
Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Yes	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
No	-	-	3	10	16	8	2	2	41
Both	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	3	11	18	9	3	2	46

$r = -.2611$ $p > .05$

Table 43. Modernization score by uses drum in bush, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Modernization Score								
Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
No response	2	1	3	1	2	-	-	-	9
Yes	22	29	24	12	6	2	-	-	95
No	22	39	39	33	26	3	4	-	166
Both	-	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	7
Don't know	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
	47	74	67	48	36	5	4	-	281

$r = -.2010$ $p < .01$

Table 44. Use drum in bush by permanence of work.

	Seasons with job				
Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	7	3	-	1	11
Yes	50	25	19	4	98
No	101	51	41	14	207
Both	3	2	-	-	7
Don't know	5	1	-	-	4
	166	82	60	19	327

r = -.0491 p > .05

Table 45. Uses drum in bush by permanence of work, for those living in white towns.

Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	1	1	-	-	2
Yes	2	-	1	-	3
No	23	7	7	4	41
Both	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-
	26	8	8	4	46

$r = -.0513$ $p > .05$

Table 46. Uses drum in bush by permanence of work, for those living in frontier settlements and trading posts.

	Seasons with job				
Uses drum in bush	0	1	2	3	Total
No response	6	2	-	1	9
Yes	48	25	18	4	95
No	78	44	34	10	166
Both	3	2	-	-	7
Don't know	5	1	-	-	4

$r = -.0523$ $p > .05$

Table 47. Use of drum in bush by location of residence.

Uses drum in bush	Living in white towns	Living in frontier settlements and trading posts	Total
No response	2	9	11
Yes	3	95	98
No	41	166	207
Both	-	7	7
Don't know	-	4	4
	46	281	327

$r = -.2166$ $p < .01$

Table 48. Use of drum in the bush
by decade of birth.

		Uses drum in the bush				
Decade of birth	No Response	Yes	No	Both	Don't know	Total
1880	-	1	1	-	-	2
1890	-	1	11	1	-	13
1900	-	10	15	1	-	26
1910	-	17	24	-	-	41
1920	1	18	33	1	-	53
1930	4	15	47	2	1	69
1940	6	34	67	2	3	112
1950	-	2	9	-	-	11
	11	98		7	4	327

$r = +.0215$ $p > .05$

ANNEX B

FROM HUNTER TO PROLETARIAN

The involvement of Cree Indians in the White Wage Economy of Central Quebec

Ignatius E. La Rusic

I

Introduction

Following their initial contact with Europeans in the mid-16th century, the Cree Indians of Central Quebec developed a trapping economy which was almost identical with their aboriginal hunting economy. There were some changes brought about by the introduction of European goods and the development of trading patterns,[1] but to a large extent the Indian culture remained very much as it had been in the pre-contact period. The Cree utilized a select number of items from the material culture of the European to improve their chances of survival in the inhospitable environment of Northern Quebec. For these items they exchanged furs; the only product capable of being produced in the region with the level of technology possessed by the Cree.

This entry into, and continuance in, the trapping economy can be looked upon as a mechanism designed to protect some of the fundamental aspects of the Indians' aboriginal culture (Pothier, 1968b). Thus, the hunting culture of the Cree was maintained in a somewhat modified form, and could flourish as long as the exchange of furs could be maintained.

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[1] See for example the anthropological discussions on the development of land holding patterns in the area (Leacock, 1954; Hickerson, 1968; etc.).

During the third or fourth decades of this century the exchange value of furs diminished gradually and finally reached the point where it was no longer equivalent in value to the items required from the Euro-Canadian culture. From this moment the Cree had to commence interacting with the Euro-Canadian economy and culture on different terms: no longer were they "autonomous". They had to depend on wage labour or welfare rations to make up the deficit in order to continue the ways of the hunter during nine months of the year.

In a previous report (La Rusic, 1968), I reviewed the traditional Waswanipi economy, stressing the role of the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) in the system. The other settlements in our study region would be very similar to Waswanipi, and most of what was said of them applies equally to all. I indicated that the HBC was for all practical purposes the "White world" of the Cree until the mid-1940's; the development of Indian Affairs Branch (hereafter IAB) services at that time providing another limited contact. The Cree were so isolated that they probably became quite dependent upon the Euro-Canadian economy without being aware of it. Thus though there are probably many Cree in some of our study settlements (e.g. Nemiscau) who would still classify themselves as "hunters"[2] and will continue to trap and hunt as a dominant way of life during their lifetime, and even retain such cultural attributes of a hunter as their religion (see Pothier, 1968b), "hunters" no longer exist in our region today. We are dealing with people who were hunters earlier in their lifetime and who are in the process of evolving into something else. This paper describes the nature and relative success of the contemporary Cree's attempts to fit into a wage economy. It is to some extent a chronicle of a hunting society being transformed into the proletariat of an industrial society.

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[2] I am using the construct "hunter" in the limited sense that anthropologists such as Service (1962) or Pothier (1968) are using it.

II.

Indian involvement in the White economy

Since the arrival of the White man in the study region, at least a few Indians have worked in the context of the White man's economy to serve his particular needs. For example, the HBC or the free traders have always required the services of guides, storemen, repairmen, etc. These were few in number and all depended to some extent on trapping and hunting to provide food (Anderson, 1961). In this century a few jobs with Whites became available when the prospectors and surveyors arrived in the region, but this was of minor importance as a source of employment. However, it gave the Indians their first opportunity to work outside the world of the HBC.

The Indians did work each summer for the HBC or the free trader, as the case might be, on the canoe brigade. This was a convoy of canoes utilized by the trader to bring furs out to James Bay or south to Lac St. Jean, and bring winter supplies in to the Post. This should not be considered as involvement in a wage labour economy, rather as a part of the total process of getting trade goods to the winter camp. For one thing, there probably was no choice in the matter of going, for every able-bodied man was needed to man the canoes. Nor was pay in cash, rather in kind and perquisites - even as late as the twentieth century (Anderson, 1961). In this context the individual trading posts at Mistassini, Waswanipi, Nemiscau, etc., are better considered as staging points between the Indians' winter camp and the market on James Bay or Lac St. Jean, and in a certain sense the canoe brigade as a sort of communal effort to acquire certain items from the material culture of the Euro-Canadian economy.

Wage labour first became available in significant amounts in the 1950's.[3] For the purposes of our study, we may assume that the Indians of our region have been involved in the wage economy since 1955, but large numbers of Mistassini, all of the Nemiscau people, and about half of the Waswanipi had no significant involvement until about 1964.

Each of the bands entered the White wage economy by its own particular route, but there are some very interesting parallels. In this section a brief summary will be presented of the history of involvement of each band and a short analysis will be made of the significance of the similarities.

Mistassini Band

During the early 1950's, as a conservation measure, the

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[3] There may have been some involvement of the Waswanipi in a commercial fishing enterprise in the 1930's, but my data are not conclusive.

Quebec government began to regulate the beaver harvest by establishing kill quotas and closed seasons. In the Mistassini region in 1950 or 1951, the government placed an embargo on the trapping of beaver to permit the animal population to recover. This move deprived the Mistassini of their principal item of exchange and in order to subsist they had to be sustained either by "rations"[4] or by entry into the wage labour economy. The latter necessitated a migration from the Post. IAB encouraged the younger men to go south to work at Oskelaneo in the pulp cutting camps for Canadian International Paper Company (CIP). In 1952, twenty-one young men, mostly single and in their early twenties or late teens, proceeded to Oskelaneo in a plane chartered by IAB. Near Oskelaneo, the Mistassini worked for CIP on essentially the same terms as the pulp cutters at Bachelor Lake (described in my earlier paper). They worked under the direction of an Indian who had moved from Mistassini a number of years previously and had learned English. The following year twelve more workers moved to the same general area. These were men with families, though mostly young men. In 1954, another ten families, these older men, moved to Oskelaneo, but eight of these moved back to Mistassini one year later.

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[4] "Rations" are a form of welfare payment given in kind. The Indian receives a slip of paper entitling him to receive so many pounds of various items from the local store. For a further discussion, see my earlier paper (La Rusic, 1968:11-12).

The others who had moved there in the previous years remained for up to six years, and a few families still remain.

The Mistassini lived in tents, moving quite frequently as the site of the cutting operations were changed. These cutting areas were always in isolated areas so that the Mistassini really never had any interaction with the White world in this location. As far as could be determined, all the men worked as pulp cutters on a piecework basis. An exception is the present Mistassini chief, whom the Indians designated as "woods boss" when they became dissatisfied with their first Indian "foreman."

For the majority of the Mistassini, the Oskelaneo experience was finished by 1958, by which time most of the families had returned to Mistassini Post and were attempting to re-establish themselves as hunters. However, the fur catches were still insufficient to maintain them and there was always the requirement of finding summer work or living on welfare. In 1964, pulp cutting operations began in the Waswanipi region at Bachelor Lake. The Anglican minister at the Post heard of the possibility of employment and encouraged a group of Indian families to move there for the summer when it became evident that most would be unemployed at the Post. The Mistassini set up their tents near Bachelor Lake forming a Mistassini encampment near the cutting site very much as they had done in Oskelaneo. Both operations were virtually identical. In 1965 an even larger number of Indians went to work, but a smaller number went in 1966 as they

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had not done particularly well the previous year. In 1967 only about one dozen men came, and significantly all, with the exception of one old man, left their families in Mistassini and lived at the bunkhouse with the Quebecois pulp cutters.

Another large-scale involvement of the Mistassini in the wage economy began in 1953. At that time several mineral exploration companies were doing extensive work in the Chibougamau area and badly needed line cutters and stakers. One of the engineers took a group of about twenty-four Mistassini, mostly from the Dore Lake group, and taught them the rudiments of this type of work. They learned on the job under the direction of the engineer who made use of an Indian interpreter. Some members of this group of twenty-four have worked for mineral exploration companies on a casual basis ever since. Friends and relatives were given the same practical instruction by members of the original group so that practically every young man has worked on this type of job at some time or another and is capable of doing it. However, it is noteworthy that no Indians have been hired on the same basis as Whites, i.e. no Indians are on a full-time payroll. Nor do they get long term contracts or the same rates of pay. Some Indians have been given sub-contracts for line cutting or staking, but these are not extremely lucrative and are essentially a means of putting the Indians to work on a piecework basis (Tanner, 1968; La Rusic, 1968 for descriptions of Indians in line cutting and staking).

The most recent involvement of the Mistassini in wage labour has been in the commercial fishing operation organized by IAB and in guiding for tourists at government fish camps. Recruitment for both types of work has been fairly standardized. In the case of fisheries, the IAB supervisors let it be known that they require some fishermen. Those that come are given equipment and they work under the general direction of a White supervisor. Sometimes men who are considered to be "good" men or "steady" men are asked to come. As far as could be determined, there was no attempt in the initial years to locate some Indians who were reputed to be "good" fishermen. In contrast, there is a certain amount of selectivity in choosing guides for the tourist operation. The individual must have some command of English and this is stressed as a prerequisite of employment. However, other than this, there is simply a general call for men and those who present themselves are generally accepted. In recent years there has been an attempt by supervisors to recruit the same men in consecutive years. However, in both guiding and commercial fishing, no Mistassini Indians have been used in a supervisory capacity, none have been so recruited, and none have advanced in the system.

Waswanipi Band

The Waswanipi speak of the first major involvement with the White wage economy as occurring in 1955. That summer a man came to the Post to seek a gang of men to clear the right of way for the railway which was under construction.[5] Informants spoke variously of from forty to sixty men working on the job under the direction of an Indian "straw-boss" who oversaw the work under the supervision of a White foreman. In 1956 there was a similar work project involving about the same number of men. The figure forty to sixty is perhaps somewhat high, for it would account for almost every able-bodied man on the Post at that time. This would seem to be the only instance of Indians working for the Canadian National Railways either on construction or operation.

In a previous paper (La Rusic, 1968), I spoke of the impact of the coming of the airplane on the earning power of the Cree (see also Anderson, 1961). Though this undoubtedly had a strong impact in the area, it should not be considered to be the necessary and sufficient cause for the Waswanipi becoming involved in the wage labour economy. Certainly the decline in income from winter trapping was a major factor, as was the desire to have more material goods from the Euro-Canadian economy. But the change-over to new methods of transportation probably hit the Cree sharply at a particular moment and the lack of summer employment was keenly felt. IAB reacted to the serious situation in 1957 and 1958 when they initiated the commercial fishing in the Waswanipi area as a relief project. Although it is frequently referred to as the Indian Fisheries Cooperative, in fact it is an IAB operation which involves the collecting and marketing of fish which are caught by a group of Indians organized by IAB to go fishing for the summer. In the initial stages of the Waswanipi venture, no Indians were used as supervisors, but at present there are some Indians who have such duties though they operate under the close direction of the IAB development officer. As in Mistassini, there is no particular procedure to assure that "good" fishermen go fishing; rather, a general call is made each spring for some men to go fishing. These are offered special rations or equipment as an enticement. There is no contact between Whites and Indians. All such business is brokered through the IAB development officer. (A more complete discussion of the commercial fishing operation is included toward the end of this report.)

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[5] There may have been some involvement in wage labour in an earlier period. A few Indians spoke of a sawmill operation in the Senneterre region which employed Indians only. However the information came near the end of fieldwork and I had no other reference to it. Perhaps there had been a few Indians who moved to the Senneterre area in earlier times (i.e. the 1920's or '30's) and who had worked on such an operation. Certainly there were some Waswanipi who moved around the whole of our study region and even beyond. One finds Waswanipi married to women in other bands living as far away as Sanmaur (personal communication Camille Guy). I would consider that 1955 is in fact the first time that the Waswanipi became involved in wage labour to any extent.

The Waswanipi, like the Mistassini, became involved in cutting pulp in 1964; their next major entry into the wage economy. There are two versions to account for how they became involved. The IAB officials claim that they spoke to the pulp contractor asking him to hire Indians. When the contractor was questioned on this matter he simply stated that the Indians started to come to him to ask for work and that he had arranged credit and financing for chain saws, etc. The location of the work was in the Bachelor Lake area, and the Waswanipi were given a separate cutting area from the Mistassini. In other words, the pulp cutting area was divided into three major sections: on the first (with the "good bush") are the White Quebec pulp cutters; on the second the Mistassini are located, and on the third the Waswanipi - the latter two in "bad bush." The only direct contact with Whites has been through the contractor or through his woods boss, though there is a meeting of Indians and Whites in the bunkhouse dining room during meals. However, during a one month period in 1966 when I ate most of my meals in the same bunkhouse with the Indians and White men, I witnessed no direct interaction between the Whites and Indians in the dining room setting. All the men lined up to get served in cafeteria style and proceeded to the tables. The Indians tended to eat at the same table and converse among themselves in Cree, never with the Whites. Likewise, in the recreation room the Whites played pool together and the Indians played together. In summary, there was no significant interaction.

The only other aspects of the wage economy in which the Waswanipi are involved are the guiding industry and the mineral exploration industry. In both they simply sit in their settlements and wait for a White to come to look for "an Indian" to do a particular job. It is all casual labour with a single job lasting from a few days to a month.

Nemiscau Band

The Nemiscau are latecomers to the wage economy. It is only in the last few years that they have had any opportunity to participate. This came when IAB expanded the commercial fishing operation to the region. The method of recruitment is identical to that in Waswanipi, except that in Nemiscau the people are only too glad to spend the summer in a place where the cost of groceries and goods from the White world is only about half that of Nemiscau, and little enticement is needed. As noted in Pothier's paper (Pothier, 1968a), Nemiscau is the most remote of our regions of study and the cost of transport of goods there is extremely high, which accounts for the extremely high cost of living in Nemiscau.

Analysis

The question which first arises in considering these chronicles of Cree Indians becoming involved in the wage economy can be simply stated: "Why did these Indians get involved at all?" In a previous study (La Rusic, 1968), I have suggested that the Waswanipi were 'forced' into the wage economy by the decline in the income from furs. This decline, which had been evident throughout the whole study region, was due to a weakening fur market combined with the reduced catches resulting from over-trapping. I have used 'forced' rather than the weaker 'attracted' for it would appear that as long as there is an income supplement in the form of welfare payments, there is some reluctance to become involved in wage labour. Certainly there is a strong reticence to make summer migrations to other than the fish camps. The Mistassini experience in the Bachelor Lake area evidences this, as does the reluctance of the people from Nemiscau to move to Matagami to exploit the labour market, even though there has been a significant need for ancillary income. The reluctance is not so pronounced among the younger men, especially those who have been away to school (Wintrob and Sindell, 1968), but for most of the older people, the shift to wage labour is not viewed with anticipation. If IAB provided some welfare during the summer so that these people could spend their time in subsistence hunting, they probably would not move toward wage labour at all.

The fact is that the attraction of a steady wage in the labour market is deceiving at first glance. When the work is located away from the post, or if the man cannot augment his earnings with subsistence hunting, it would require an income of at least $300.00 per month to compare favourably with a welfare ration of $100.00, if the latter situation left the man free to hunt. In Waswanipi, there is some reluctance among Indians to getting involved in the pulp cutting business at all, because while on this job they are limited to feeding their families with "store food," there being no possibility of supplementing the diet with "bush food" in the cutting area. A sample of a dozen men revealed that it required approximately $60.00 per week to feed a family of four or five children, and that at a low standard of diet. This leaves a man with scarcely $50.00 per month after food costs and deductions. (I will return to this matter in the section on pulp-cutting later in this report.) Such a situation prompted some Waswanipi to suggest that it would be better to be able to get a ration, if it left a man free to go fishing for subsistence where it is possible to sustain a family on a diet of "good bush food."

It would be accurate to answer to the question posed above by stating that the majority of Indians were driven to the wage market by hunger, i.e., the absence of or inadequate rations from IAB. The present scale of IAB "rations" in the region permit the families to maintain themselves only at a level of hidden hunger. In the section on commercial fishing in this report I will be suggesting that some Indians could undoubtedly be better off on rations than working at commercial fishing where they are in fact losing money.

It is especially significant that the Indians did not enter the job market as individuals. Always they entered as members of a labour gang. In a series of job histories collected by

Tanner and the author (McGill-Cree Project Field Notes, 1967), again and again one runs across almost the same statement from men describing how he got his first job: "A man came to the Post looking for some Indians and I went with my friend (my brother, my uncle, etc.) to work for that man." The Indians themselves were never considered in any other capacity than as potential labourers, and with few exceptions, none advanced to a higher job than the one at which they were first hired. These exceptions are limited to mineral exploration, where a few men, by watching others, learned some of the more complex aspects of line cutting and staking (e.g. map making, using a magnetometer or compass, etc.), and occasionally can get work which is normally done by Whites. However, it is noteworthy that for this they do not receive the same pay-scale as Whites, their principle advantage is that they get more days of work.

Even those Indians who sometimes directed the Indian work gangs were not candidates for supervisory positions. They worked merely as straw-bosses, and were not trained, nor given the same status or pay scale as Whites. In practice, the "straw-boss" was someone who interpreted the orders of the White foreman and who oversaw the work without having any authority.

It is evident that the Indians received no special training for the work they were doing. It was always assumed that the work they could do had a certain "Indian-ness" about it. Even in the pulp cutting operations, the Indians were considered special. "They do very clean work." "They won't cause forest fires," etc. Indians don't need training for this kind of work; "it comes natural to them." In fact, they usually learn by watching a friend or relative. Not having any training, they have no access to other than the particular "Indian jobs" into which Whites cast them.

Even where the work is equivalent to that of Whites - as in pulp cutting - the Indians' special status is used to advantage by the foreman. When the Waswanipi complained about always being assigned "bad bush," the foreman and contractor replied, "You don't have the same responsibilities to families as the Quebecois woodcutters. They have big families to feed, and have to pay for houses, they need to get the "good bush" in order to support their families. You don't have the same expenses and the government pays your hospital and doctor, and you get welfare, etc., etc., etc."

In the following section I will describe the deployment of the Indian work force in the region. Here it will be evident that the Cree are still employed in industries on the same conditions and level in which they entered them a dozen years ago. At that time, they were cast in the role of a cheap labour force, available and willing natives in the new colony of the north. They could make up the needed gangs of unskilled labour. Convenient, for they were there year-round, an almost captive labour force, which did not have to be provided with any of the most fundamental demands of White workers from the south: job security, advancement, equivalent pay, steady employment, or even the dignity of being accepted as an equivalent member of the human race; the Cree Indians became an important asset to those who were developing the mining and tourist industries in the region.

III.

Present Employment Patterns

If one visits the study region, it becomes immediately obvious that the Indians have a very different economic existence from the Whites. The impression is confirmed when one commences to study the unemployment rates in Matagami, Chapais, Chibougamau, and the other settlements with Whites. There are virtually no unemployed Whites in these locations. The itinerant labourers who make up the majority of the labour force in the pulp industry (and to some extent in the mining industry) do not remain in the region when they are not working. The only unemployed that one encounters are Indians, and they are numerous.

The data presented in the following pages (Tables I to VII) will show the extent of the unemployment among the Indians. The information was collected during the summers of 1965, 1966, and 1967, the most detailed materials coming from Mistassini. There, between August and the end of September of 1967, a detailed survey of all households was made to determine the employment patterns for the summer. The sample includes from 85% to 90% of the population.[6] A total of 171 adult males were interviewed, or data on their summer activities was collected from reliable sources (members of the family, relatives or neighbours, etc.). Of these, complete data was available for 164 Indians, and these formed the basis of the sample. Twenty of this group, or 12.2%, were found to be pensioners or chronically ill and were omitted for purposes of analysis of employment patterns, leaving 144, who can be considered as representing the work force.

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[6] There is no reason to suspect that the missing 10% to 15% represents a particular employment group, or that it skews the sample in any way. Some of the families scheduled to be interviewed left unexpectedly for the bush in early September, and a few others were away from the Post when the visits were made.

The data on the Waswanipi is less comprehensive, but the sample covers closer to 100% of the population, with less than 5% missing. The data was collected in the years noted on the individual tables, and came from personal interviews and census materials.[7]

The tables are presented in the next seven pages and are followed by a discussion.

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[7] The data for 1965 was collected by Samson and Najmi (McGill-Cree Project field notes, 1965), and for the subsequent years by the author during field trips to these settlements. The figures for the towns are based on the 1967 data collected by Tanner (Field Notes, 1967, and Tanner, 1968), in Dore Lake and Matagami. The Chapais figures are mine. The co-operation of my colleagues is gratefully acknowledged, but full responsibility for the uses to which their raw data has been put rests with me.

TABLE I

Waswanipi Indian Active Population by Economic Activity Summer 1965*

Type of Activity	Percentage	Number
Cutting Pulp	56%	35
Commercial Fishing	20%	13
Mineral Exploration	14%	9
Guiding (around settlements)	7%	4
Other	3%	2
TOTALS	100%	63

* Samson has a sample of 68 of 90 persons whom he calls "la population active." By this he means those who are available for the work force. He has removed from his sample the five students and the old people, to reach the total of 63 given above. He does not include the unemployed.

(SOURCE: Samson, 1966:2 and 16-17.)

TABLE II

Active Population of Waswanipi Indians by Economic Activity Summer 1967 (Excluding residents of Chapais & Matagami)

Type of Activity	Percentage	Number
Cutting Pulp	28.5%	16
Commercial Fishing	25.0%	14
Mineral Exploration	5.4%	3
Guiding	7.1%	4
Odd Jobs	7.1%	4
Sawmill Operations	3.6%	2
Other	3.6%	2
Unemployed	19.7%	11
TOTALS	100.0%	56

TABLE III

Active Population of Chapais, Dore Lake and Matagami by Economic Activity - Summer 1967

Activity	Dore Lake		Matagami		Chapais		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mining			7.0	2	66.6	12	21.0	14
Fish Plant*			26.0	7			10.5	7
Commercial Fishing*			19.0	5			7.5	5
Mineral Exploration	57.0	12	7.0	2	5.5	1	23.0	15
Odd Jobs	9.5	2	19.0	5	11.0	2	13.5	9
Other			4.0	1			1.5	1
Unemployed	33.5	7	19.0	5	16.6	3	23.0	15
TOTALS	100.0	21	100.0	27	100.0	18	100.0	66

* See La Rusic, 1968, or Tanner, 1968, for detail on the differences between fish plant work and commercial fishing.

TABLE IV

Employment Stability of Sample of Mistassini Males
Summer 1967 - June 1 to September 15

Activity	Percentage	Number of Men
Employed full time	18.3	30
Employed part time	53.1	87
Unemployed all summer	16.5	27
Pensioners and Infirm*	12.2	20
TOTALS	100.0	164

* Note: The twenty men in the last group are dropped from the sample and the remaining 144 are used in the following tables.

TABLE V

Active Population of Mistassini by Major Economic Activity* Summer 1967

Type of Activity	Percentage	Number
Sawmill (IAB)	5.5	8
Commercial Fishing (IAB)	6.9	10
House Building (IAB)	14.9	20
(Subtotal IAB)	(27.3%)	(38)
Guiding	21.5	31
HBC	3.5	5
Mineral Exploration	16.0	23
Pulp Cutting	6.2	9
Others	7.6	11
Unemployed	18.7	27
TOTALS	100.0	144

* Some Mistassini worked on more than one job. Only the one on which the longer time was spent is included.

TABLE VI

Duration of Employment for Mistassini Indians during 15 weeks of summer 1967
June 1 - September 15

Weeks of Employment	Percentage	Number of Men
15	20.8	30
10 to 14	15.3	22
5 to 9	11.1	16
1 to 4	34.0	49
None	18.8	27
TOTALS	100.0	144

TABLE VII

Economic Activity of 144 Mistassini Indians in Man-weeks* for 15 weeks in Summer 1967 - June 1 to September 15

Activity	Percentage Man-weeks	Number of Man-weeks
Sawmill and House Construction at Post (IAB)	4.7	124
Commercial Fishing (IAB)	5.7	151
Fish Plant work (IAB)	1.7	45
(Subtotal IAB)	(12.1%)	(320)
Odd Jobs on Post from HBC or Rioux' establishment	5.1	136
Guiding for Tourists	12.2	326
Mineral Exploration	7.1	187
Pulp Cutting	1.1	29
Other	2.1	57
UNEMPLOYED	60.2	1,605
TOTALS	100.0	2,660

* 1 man-week = 1 man employed 1 week
Maximum man-weeks per individual = 15
Maximum man-weeks for 144 men = 15 x 144 = 2,660

A discussion of the present-day involvement of the Cree in the White wage economy presents a number of complications. Many variables are operating simultaneously, so that when discussing a particular feature, it is always necessary to qualify the statement for a particular case. For example, there are very important differences among the various settlements within the region. Pothier (1968a), has commented upon the extent of these differences in his discussion on community complexity, and in terms of his typology, it is of course evident that in a treatment of the employment situation in the region, one must qualify what one is saying about the whole by reference to a particular community.

Similarly, it is very important to specify the period of the year one is referring to. The employment patterns are quite dissimilar in summer and winter, and a complete analysis would demand consideration of Indian employment in the summer; Indian casual employment on a year-round basis; and permanent year-round employment opportunities. And each of these treatments would have to be projected against the background of a rather unstable and declining fur trapping industry. The following comments refer principally to the employment situation in the summer, though there are some ramifications which can extend to the year-round, casual, and as well as permanent employment for the Indians.

A crucial statistic which can be drawn from Tables II, III, and V, is the unemployment rate. These tables present an enumeration of the Indians who worked for any period of time in one of the listed activities. It is important to note that the data was collected at particular periods in the summers and does not take into account whether the work was steady or casual. Clearly much of the work is of a casual nature, a fact which Tanner stresses (Tanner, 1968); and this tends to present an artificially low unemployment rate. For example, if a man was employed in mineral exploration for a week, and "sat around" for three weeks waiting for the next job, the tables simply show this man as working in mineral exploration, without any indication that he was unemployed 3/4 of the time.

In order to demonstrate how severe the unemployment picture is, a very detailed census was made in Mistassini during the summer and early fall of 1967. (August 15 to September 30.) Detailed job histories were obtained covering the period June 1 to September 15 for 164 men. Tables IV and VI present a summary of these job histories. This data reveals an absolute unemployment rate of 18.8% for the summer, and further indicates that only 20.8% of the men had full-time employment. Moreover, of those who had "some" employment, only 34% were able to find a job which lasted for as long as one month.

In an attempt to arrive at more precise statistics, Tables V and VII were constructed. Table VII points out the relative importance of each type of job for the Indian economy, and provides a more complete measure of employment. The construct of "man-weeks" has been devised to provide this measure. The most striking piece of information that emerges from Table VII is that the "true" unemployment rate exceeds 60%. This, in fact, is more indicative of the situation one sees during field work than the figures of 20% shown in Tables IV and VI. But Table VII reveals fundamental information concerning the relative importance of the different job categories in the economy of the Mistassini.

It is most revealing that IAB, who have special programmes operating in the area, provide only about 12% of the man-weeks of work for the Mistassini. In fact, the total house-building programme, the commercial fisheries and sawmill provided less employment for the Mistassini than guiding. In fact, just over twice as many man-weeks as the HBC and other odd job employers around the Post. The casual aspect of mineral exploration becomes apparent as well. Although 23 men were involved in it (16% of the sample), only about 7.1% of the man-weeks of employment was derived therefrom.

While it may be objected that the chief IAB job source, housing construction and the accompanying sawmill operation, were not in full operation until September, it is nonetheless evident that even if the programme had been in full operation for the whole summer, i.e., the full fifteen weeks of my report, no more than a total of five hundred man-weeks of employment could be generated from it: i.e., about 20% of the total needed for the summer.[8]

These findings demonstrate that IAB "make-work" projects, such as commercial fishing or house building, must be carried out on a really massive scale to create a significant impact on the economy. What is more important, the contribution of the guiding industry to the Mistassini has probably been underestimated as a source of employment (certainly it was by the author). Those Cree who work as guides - mainly for the Quebec government fishing camps - have the most steady work. And even in the present undeveloped state of the industry, guiding provided 12.2% of the employment. Unfortunately, none of these jobs are in a supervisory or managerial capacity. By contrast, the commercial fishing operation which has been heavily subsidized by IAB, on which IAB attention seems to be principally focussed, and certainly where there is the heaviest capital investment,[9] has produced only about 7.5% of the employment. On the other hand, a few Indians have advanced to responsible positions.

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[8] This is based on the employment of 40 men on the project for the full time, about the maximum possible for the amount of work to be done. On this basis there would still have been from 1200 to 1300 man-weeks of unemployment in 1967, for a rate of approximately 50%.

Although we do not have comparable detailed data on employment for the other settlements, insights from Mistassini can be useful in assessing their situation. The employment figures compiled by Tanner (1968) and myself (1968) probably show too optimistic a picture, and both studies draw attention to this. Tanner includes a few summaries of job histories of Indians to indicate his reservations. Similar histories for thirty Waswanipi reveal similar unstable and erratic employment patterns, with frequent and sometimes long periods of unemployment between jobs. I would estimate the unemployment rate to be about 50% for the entire region during the summer. The winter employment pattern would of course be different, since the majority of the Indians are on the trapline. Any estimate of winter employment would require a rather different approach to the problem of analysis of the level of unemployment. As Tanner has suggested in his study, the winter season with its paucity of employment opportunities drives almost everyone to the bush where they are underemployed for most of the year.

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[9] This will be seen in the succeeding section which discusses commercial fisheries.

The difficulty faced by the job seeker can be more fully appreciated if the available jobs in the region are arranged in a typology of durability and stability. Such an analysis has been attempted in my previous report in the table Parameters and Attributes of Job Choice (1968:29).[10] In my typology, only pulp cutting and mining showed up as both stable and year round. Stable summer jobs were limited to commercial fishing, pulp cutting, and guiding in remote camps. Mining could not be considered a summer job for the conditions of employment preclude seasonal commitment. All other types of work must be termed casual (with the exception of a few positions as HBC clerks or IAB staff). This would include sawmill work, fish plant work, mineral exploration, guiding (both fishing and moose hunting) in the settlements and occasional work for the HBC or IAB. If then an Indian in our region wished to obtain steady summer employment, he is limited to commercial fishing, pulp cutting or guiding in a remote fish camp. In no case can he find steady employment in the Indian community. He must spend the summer on remote lakes or in a pulp cutting camp. If he seeks a year round job, he has two choices (again excluding the few HBC and IAB staff jobs), those of mining or pulp cutting. And a commitment to either would mean a change of location for most people in our region.

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[10] Reproduced in this report as Table VIII, page 40

This brief review of the present situation shows that the Indian's involvement with the labour market is marginal at best. At present the Indian population is primarily a source of unskilled labour which can be called upon when needed. Except for guiding, where his services are indispensible for the operation of the enterprise (and where he works only at the lowest job level), is his position secure against competition from Whites. Given the present decline in trapping which will force more and more Indians into the wage labour market, some totally new sources of year-round employment will have to be devised if the wage economy is to be considered as anything other than a refuge from starvation for the Cree.

IV.

Two Alternatives to Trapping

In the previous section, I have presented an overall picture of Indian involvement in the wage economy. In this section I will focus on two of the most important employment categories in the region: pulp cutting and commercial fishing. The former is an example of Indians attempting to exploit on their own initiative an industry which is beginning to develop in the study area; the latter an example of a government programme to alleviate the unemployment.

Pulp Cutting

I have already treated pulp cutting at some length in my earlier report on the Waswanipi. On the face of it, pulp cutting might be considered to be an ideal type of work for the majority of the Indian work force, who are so ill-prepared for the wage economy. It pays reasonably well. The work pace is permissive, capital investment is low, work is in a bush environment, family groups can participate in the style of the hunting group, language is no problem -- at least on the lowest level -- white interaction is low, etc.

There are also some disadvantages, of which the Indian is keenly aware. I have mentioned the discrimination against the Indian in the matter of assigning "bad bush". This has the effect of reducing the potential take-home pay by 50%, as well as making for much harder and tedious work which is hard on equipment. This in itself is almost enough to discourage anyone. But there are other disadvantages as well.

Not the least of these disadvantages is the cost of food. The pulp camps are located in isolated areas, with poor grocery facilities. The itinerant Quebecois pulp cutter lives in the camp bunkhouse where his meals are provided for $1.65 per day. His family does not accompany him. The Indian, though, lives with his family and he must feed his wife and children from the stores in the region. For a family of five or six, this can mean grocery bills of from $40.00 to $60.00 per week. And the selection is poor. Meat, the staple of the Indian diet, is so expensive that children rarely get adequate amounts. One man said, "My kids have eaten nothing but canned meat for over a year." Yet grocery bills for this family of six small children amounted to about $200 per month.

There is a possibility for the men to eat in the bunkhouse, and most do. But the family must still be fed, and that is a very difficult task when the nearest store is six or seven miles away - a $4.00 taxi ride return. In the light of these remarks, it is not surprising that families sometimes take off for a week at a time to camp by a lake to fish and hunt. They are aware that their families are eating poorly while they are cutting pulp. Hunting near the cutting area is not possible, as the game warden warns the Indians not to hunt within ten miles of the highway, and then the meat must be consumed a similar distance away. Fishing is possible on a small scale if the lakes are good, but Bachelor Lake was fished out in a few months three years ago. The concomitant of a decision to cut pulp then is an acceptance to feed one's family on "store food"; which for a Cree is to have the family eat poorly.[11]

Then there is the environment of pulp cutting. There is always a nearby camp of over 100 to 300 men, without women - hard drinkers for the most part - who seek and treat the Indian women and girls as prostitutes. After a few weeks of seeing the family involved in something like that, it is not surprising that some families with young girls state a preference of going fishing or sending the daughters to live with relatives in remote fish camps for their protection. And it may be an important explanation of why the Mistassini men left their families behind in 1967.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that some Indians do not get involved in pulp cutting if they have the possibility of getting welfare rations. But as Hawthorne points out (1966:115), receipt of welfare "acts as a deterrent to working for a livelihood only where employment opportunities themselves are limited to arduous, risky or otherwise unattractive types of employment which also yield only a bare subsistence income." Pulp cutting, as an alternative to winter trapping, which is one of the two year-round jobs available in the region, can thus be seen to have a rather unattractive side. This helps to explain why they have not been strongly attracted to it, especially in the Waswanipi region.

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[11] See Speck (1935) for a discussion of the importance of "bush food". Also Wintrob and Sindell underscore importance of "bush food" today.

In different circumstances, e.g., with "good bush" and attractive living arrangements in an Indian town, perhaps pulp cutting can be of considerable importance in the future. The Waswanipi see the possibility of being involved in the industry while living in a reserve which would be off the main highway, but close enough to commute to the cutting area by bus. The long term attractiveness of the industry would be contingent upon some of the younger Indians, especially, getting jobs in the industry above the level of pulp cutters. And there would have to be a change in attitude of the larger companies toward hiring Indians. During three summers of fieldwork the largest pulp company in the area did not have one Indian man working for them in any capacity.

Actually much of what is said here about pulp cutting may not in fact be very relevant in a few years. There is a move towards mechanization in the industry, and this will probably be complete by 1970. This means that the men will work in teams of three or four with one man operating a tractor-like machine commonly called a "Timberjack" while his team mates slash trees with chainsaws. When this type of operation commences the work style will change completely from "bush" work to "industrial" style work (see Tanner, 1968, for explanation of these terms). No longer will flexible work schedules be permitted for the machines must work every day.

Table III from my previous report (La Rusic, 1968:29), which is reprinted here as Table VIII (page 40), points up the other dimensions of the attributes of pulp cutting which will change significantly under a mechanized operation. It is probable that income, which would be based on piecework, would rise to at least $20.00 per day for each team member. The pulp company claims that this is the minimum production at which it would be profitable to have a team of men use the machine. The permissive work pace, characteristic of present operations, will no longer be possible. For at least one man on each "team," significant new skills will have to be acquired, and white interaction will have to intensify. And it will be necessary for the machine operator to speak French or English to deal with mechanics.

When I was leaving the area in the autumn of 1967, there were no indications that the Indians were being prepared in any way for the changes which were inevitable. One of the last things I did was to ask a group of pulp cutters if they had any suggestion for the improvement of the pulp cutting operations for the Indian. The answer first given was in jest; "Well, you might suggest that

TABLE VIII

Parameters and Attributes of Job Choice

Occupation	Income per day	New Skills Level Reqd.	White Interaction	Location	Minimum Capital	Stability	Season	Work Style	Language of Work
Pulp Cutting	$10.00	Few	Low	5 areas, all in bush near Bachelor Lake	Chainsaw	Stable	Year round	Bush	Not Important
Sawmill	$10.00	Some	High	near Waswanipi River	Nil	Unstable	Year round	Industrial	French & English
Commercial Fishing	Less than $5.00	Few	Nil	Remote Lakes	Canoe & Motor	Stable	Summer	Bush	Cree
Fish Plant	$15.00	Few	Low	Matagami	Nil	Fairly Stable	Summer	Modified Industrial	Cree & English
Mineral Exploration	$10.00-20.00*	Some	Medium	Varies, but always bush	Almost Nil	Unstable	Year round Mostly Summer	Bush	English or French
Guiding	$12.00**	Few	High	Miquelon, Waswanipi R., remote camps	Canoe & Motor	Unstable (except in remote camps)	Summer	Bush	English
Mining	$25.00	Many	High	Chapais, Matagami, Desmaraisville	Mining Clothing $50.00	Stable	Year round	Industrial	French
Trapping	See text	Few	Nil	Family hunting territory	Minimum $1,500	Stable	Winter	Bush	Cree

* Plus free food. On contract work the rate is about $25.00 - $30.00 per day.

**Including tips.

they shoot the woods boss." (He was assigning "bad bush" to them.) Then they said that the young men would have to learn how to operate the machines so they could work in teams with the older men. This they thought would keep them in the job market for a few more years. They saw no future working in teams with Whites.

Commercial Fishing

In 1958 or 1959 IAB began a commercial fishing operation in our area. The first experiments were carried out in Waswanipi, and later, in 1962 or 1963, they were extended to Mistassini Lake. Since IAB regards commercial fishing as quite important as a development project, a few items should be noted. In the Waswanipi area, as I have noted in my earlier report, the income for fishermen averaged less than $5.00 per day in 1966. In the Mistassini area, during 1967, the income was also very low, and some fishermen even lost money. However, income is not the most significant aspect of commercial fishing, for it might be possible to justify the existence of a commercial fishing operation even if the income per fisherman were very low, provided that there were compensating factors, such as an abundance of "bush food," or job training. What does seem significant though, is that IAB is placing so much importance on commercial fishing and is investing so much time and money in an operation which provides an opportunity for so few Indians. In the years 1966 and 1967, commercial fishing did not provide more than forty jobs for the Indian wage earners in the whole region.

There is another factor about fishing which should be borne in mind, and that is the location of the work. Commercial fishing is carried out in almost total isolation from the White society. A maximum of three to six Indians in the whole operation have face to face contact with Whites other than IAB. Moreover, the whole organization of the fishing "cooperative" is quite paternalistic.

As far as can be determined from interviews with IAB officials and some Indians, during the late 1950's the IAB became concerned over the lack of income for Indians in the region during the summer. The income for fur was dwindling, and IAB was faced with either increasing welfare payments or providing some alternate form of employment. They chose to commence commercial fishing. The first efforts were made in Waswanipi area, where sturgeon were abundant. It should be noted that any commercial fishing operation in our region is beset by many difficulties. In the first place, there is the difficulty of transporting the fish to the Montreal market. In the absence of good highways and shipping facilities, shipping points are limited to Matagami, Senneterre, or Chibougamau. From here, boxes of iced fresh fish can be shipped to Montreal, but still with the risk of occasional spoilage. The critical problem seems to be to get the fish to these points. In the beginning the fish were flown from the remote lakes to the shipping point where it was iced and boxed and sent to Montreal. Sturgeon were well suited to this type of operation. The fish do not die in the net, and can be kept alive until there are enough caught to warrant sending a plane for them. Thus, on a remote lake a group of Indian fishermen needed only to be supplied with a small portable radio with which they could call for an aircraft whenever they had a planeload of fish. The method of keeping the fish was quite simple: the live sturgeon were tethered in the water by a line tied to their tail. On a suitable morning when there were enough sturgeon and the weather was right, a call would be made to send a plane. Then, the Indians would kill the sturgeon and put them in boxes, which work would be done by the time the plane landed. The fish could then be shipped without ice, to the staging point at the railhead.

Of course, transporting fish by air is not at all economical and can be justified only with high-priced fish such as sturgeon. So efforts were made to effect some economies by providing ice houses on the lakes to be fished and to provide water transport to the railhead. Using this system, it appears to be feasible to ship such low-priced fish as doré (pickerel).

While the Waswanipi commercial fishing operation dealt with sturgeon and doré, the Mistassini operation involved lake trout. That operation started in 1962 as an experimental project and has been expanded since then. After the first experimental year, fish were not shipped from Mistassini by plane. Rather, arrangements were made for transport by water to a spot along the road near Perch River where it was trucked to Chibougamau.

The efforts of IAB personnel in the fisheries operation have been devoted chiefly to the search for solutions to the problems of storage and transportation of fish. In Mistassini, for example, in 1966, two Indian Affairs officials were employed full time on these matters, and part of the time of the Indian agent. Besides this, the most highly trained of the Mistassini Indians were involved in operating the transportation line to Chibougamau or in repairing the facilities required for the operation. In 1967 IAB stationed even more personnel in Mistassini, and the supervisory personnel in Pte. Bleue and Quebec expanded. The director from Quebec made many trips to Mistassini Lake, one of the clerks from Pointe Bleue helped look after the payroll, a full time supervisor worked at Pointe 21 in charge of the operations there, a Pointe Bleue Indian was hired full time in the transport the fish as well as a Mistassini Indian. Besides these, IAB had on full time salary four or five other Indians from Mistassini who were involved in packing fish, etc.

These men were all involved in handling the fish catches of only four teams of Mistassini Indians, i.e., eight Indian families, who were involved full time fishing. Four other Mistassini families fished for shorter periods ranging from one week to three weeks. IAB also imported two Indian families from Pointe Bleue to fish on the lake. But, for most of the summer there were more supervisory personnel than there were teams of fishermen operating.

Not only is there a heavy investment in manpower, but there is also a very heavy investment in capital equipment. The installations at Pointe 21 cost IAB at least $50,000.00, a conservative estimate. Besides this, a new boathouse built in 1966-67 near the Perch River dock cost approxiamately $5,000. This was necessary to shelter the boat used by IAB supervisory personnel for visiting Pointe 21. The Indians were quick to point out that the boat itself was worth $8,000, though this is an exaggeration.

It is questionable whether the fisheries operation can be considered commercially viable in any part of our region.

Even if economies were effected at the operational level so that the Indians received a higher price for fish, there is some doubt whether the lakes in the region could support sustained commercial fishing. Though no scientific reports can be cited as evidence, it is important to note that both the Indians and Whites in the area claim that it is very easy to deplete the fish stock in a lake. It is claimed that fish grow slowly due to the short summer and the limited supply of fish food in the waters. The diminishing fish catches in both Waswanipi and Mistassini fishing areas in 1967 suggests that these speculations may, in fact,be well grounded. In short it can be questioned whether it is feasible to carry on commercial fishing on any of the lakes in our study region. Moreover, there is even some possibility that the sport fishing resources are being destroyed by the present level of operations. This latter point has not escaped the personnel of the Quebec Lands and Forests Department. They have refused to give IAB more extensive fishing rights on Mistassini Lake precisely because of such fears.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that Indian involvement in commercial fishing should not be looked upon as a long term employment possibility. Rather it seems to be more a form of "busy work" developed to obviate the paying of welfare during the summer. The experience with commercial fishing might be of considerable importance in assessing the Indians' preference for work style, or to gain some insights into the different approaches to work by the older and younger generations. However, given the shortage of protein in the summer diet, and the high cost thereof, it seems questionable at least, foolhardy perhaps, to export the fish protein to the south to provide money to buy back high priced protein in cans, especially when the former is "good bush food".

V

Some Comments in Conclusion

When one has painted a rather dismal picture of events, one expects the fair question -- what do you suggest we do about this state of affairs? In reply, one can be sweeping and recite, for example, part of Hawthorn's rather thoughtful litany of 91 recommendations (1966:13-20), which is one of the most comprehensive sets available and certainly the lengthiest. The problem is that Indian development would be dependent upon having most of these recommendations simultaneously implemented. Applying them piecemeal would probably have little significant effect. In this respect his report can be compared to such a sweeping document as the Carter report on taxation which is hailed as brilliant in analysis but its recommendations are too revolutionary and threatening to a particular sector of the population to be put into effect in toto. So attempts are made to pay lip-service to the report by borrowing from it piecemeal in spite of the author's insistence that such an approach is counter-productive. In the case of Hawthorn's recommendations, it is important to note that many items require simultaneous action, not only on both the federal and provincial governmental levels, but sometimes with local municipalities or industries as well. It is useful to analyse the type of co-operation needed and indeed to recommend that it take place, but it is visionary to expect much to happen very quickly.

A more candid (and realistic) response to the question of what is to be done perhaps might seem as dismal as the preceding analysis. It is simply that there is no solution to the present focus of Indian-White problems in our region. Moreover, as the intensity of Indian contact with the White world increases under the present conditions, the situation will probably deteriorate. The problems of the Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemiscau Indians are those of other sub-Arctic Indians. Their's are the basic problems of the poor in North America -- or the world -- whether they be yellow, black, brown or white. Something is blocking their upward mobility. Achieving they might be, yet achieve they don't or can't. Yet while offering the unpromising observation that there is no solution to the present focus, it seems that it is at least a step forward to admit that the difficulties of the Indians are part of the same overall problem as that of the poor generally. One can then focus on the kinds of structural solutions needed to resolve this malady of society, and in the process strike a blow against

Indian discrimination in Canada by including them as part and parcel of Canadian society -- even if only on the level of grouping them with the poor Whites.

It seems clear that stop-gap emergency programmes to provide Indians with employment or to give them job training are largely ineffective. The marginality of piecemeal programmes aimed at improving Indian conditions is well demonstrated in the commercial fishing operation in our region and the house building project in Mistassini. As indication in Section III, these IAB projects generated less employment than guiding operations. However, while the IAB jobs were created by design especially for the Indians, most of the employment from guiding has been as a result of the Quebec government's policy of opening up the region as a tourist recreation area. The Provincial government operates fish camps and hires Indians (albeit at substandard wage scales) as guides and camp workers. What is significant is that the fish camps were conceived as an effort to develop the region of Nouveau Québec as a tourist income-producing area -- not as a scheme to keep Indians employed. The Mistassini and Waswanipi are directly benefiting from a regional development programme, and although they are only participating at the lowest level at present, it is possible to visualize the long range potential of tourism in the region -- and the distinct possibility that many Indians may find their "ecological niche" with the development of this industry. What is certain is that the development of tourism in the region will take place within the context of a programme of regional development, not as a stop-gap method of providing a few jobs for some Indians. As a result, the Indians' involvement and long range security in that industry are better guaranteed because other regional interests will have a stake in its stability and success. Given the marginal power position of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Indians, it would perhaps be an excellent strategy to assure that development projects instigated on their behalf are so tied into the regional economy that the political and economic elites would have a direct interest in actively supporting them.

It is clear that the economy of the Indians in our region is rapidly changing. One of the tasks of IAB officials is to make the Indians aware of the implications of these changes. "Trapping is dead; hunting is a hard way of life", argue the IAB officials, and the Indians echo these sentiments with enough conviction and frequency to convince anyone that the message is getting across. Indeed the justification for sending the children away to school is that they must learn new skills in order to work in the post-hunting society. Although there is validity in the observation that "trapping is dying", it is important to draw attention to what this means in the context of the Quebec Cree.

The paramount importance of "hunting" in the culture of the Indians of our region is well documented (especially Speck 1935). Traditionally it was the "holy occupation". As noted previously (page 1), hunting has been carried on in the context of a trapping economy for a few centuries. Trapping then, for the Mistassini, Nemiscau and Waswanipi, must be considered both as an economic activity and the central core of a cultural system. In the light of the cultural implications of trapping, it would seem that categorical statements on its future should be based on careful research. Though the research on which this report is based did not cover the economic aspects of trapping sufficiently to offer some predictions on its viability in 1968 or the future, nonetheless, it was evident that, although declining, trapping still forms far too important a part of the economy to be simply written off. For the majority of older men, winter trapping will continue to be the dominant, though unremunerative, economic activity during their lifetime. For a limited number of younger men, it would seem plausible to posit winter trapping (modified and modernized, perhaps) as a rational economic pursuit in conjunction with summer employment in tourist servicing. Looking at the economic situation in our region today, and at the level of skills (linguistic, social and work) of the Indians, it would seem realistic to view trapping as an economic activity which will continue for a long time to come, regardless of how financially unrewarding it may be.

In the light of this, it may be premature to mount campaigns to convince the Indians that "trapping is dying" or that "hunting is old-fashioned". The Indians of our region face enough problems of identity conflict and self-image (Wintrob and Sindell 1968) as a consequence of being overrun by an advancing White society, without denigrating their main cultural activity as a backward obsolete venture which is not followed by "civilized" people. If, too, many Indians believe the news about the death of trapping, it might be difficult to convince them later that it has any role to play in an economy of the future.

Aside from this cautionary parenthesis, in general, the Indians will find their economic future integrally tied up with the Whites. At the moment the Indians are involved with the White economy at the lowest level -- a pool of cheap unskilled labour available to be exploited when someone requires it. If one agrees that the level of involvement should be on a more equitable basis, one can ask what steps might be taken to intensify the articulation of the Indian and White sectors.

One strategy employed by IAB has been to organize job training courses, though these have had a marginal effect. During these courses, weeks have been spent on preparing men to do new jobs, but not even a few minutes on what the men were to do when they got them. For the Indians of our region (and in this they are most similar to poor Whites) much more important than job training would be a course on "How the System Really Works". To get along in the White world, the larger society, the macro-system, however one may wish to call the world outside their sub-culture, the Indians have to be provided with information on matters of the following order:

How do you get a job through Manpower?

Why does management place so much emphasis on punctuality?

How do you collect unemployment insurance?

How does the hospital system work?

Why does the Indian-doctor relationship change when one is working in a mine or living on the reserve?

Why are Indians permitted to sit on only one side of the tavern? Or sometimes are refused entry?

Why can Whites take over a man's hunting territory and cut all the trees without asking permission or giving compensation?

What are the rules the game warden enforces? Who makes them? Why are they made at all?

What are reasonable pay scales for mineral exploration?

How do you have recourse against an employer who cheats you?

What else can you do when the police bring you to court except plead guilty?

How can you bring pressure to bear on government officials?

What can you do when the police beat up a group of Indians?

How can you get provincial services if Indians are entitled to them?

Such a list could go on practically indefinitely, but the type of information required is typically that which tells them how the macro-system operates. For the Indians in our region, the macro-system is, for all practical purposes, the White world.

Learning how it operates may not make them love that world -- and decidedly that should not be the goal of such a hypothetical venture. However, on one level, it could help make them functional in the White world, and on another knowledgeable enough of its wiles so that they can develop some strategies of self-defence. Then they might have some possibility of exercising rational choice in deciding how they want to structure their future.

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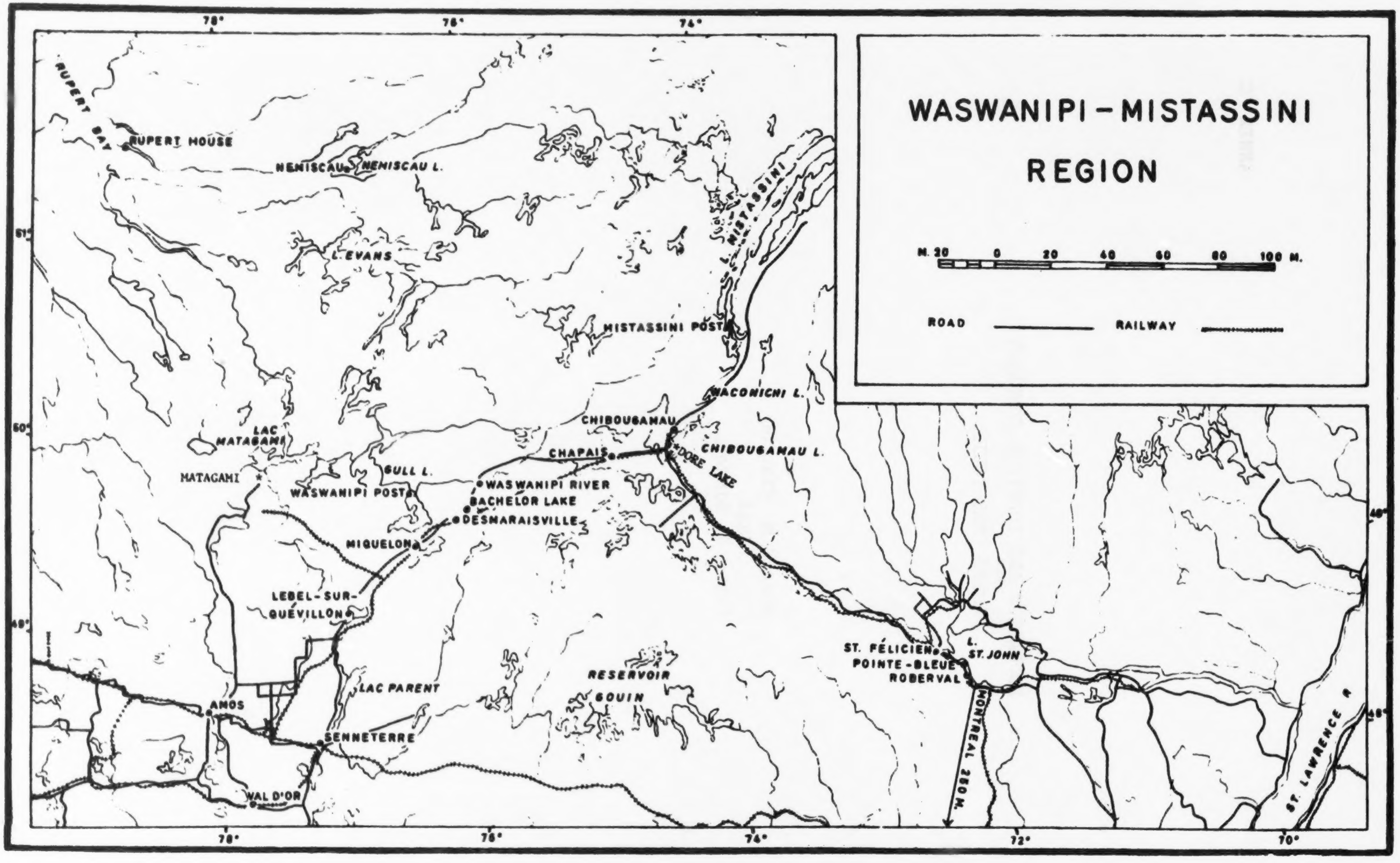
ANNEX C

EDUCATION AND IDENTITY CONFLICT AMONG CREE YOUTH

Ronald M. Wintrob
and
Peter S. Sindell

WASWANIPI – MISTASSINI
REGION
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ROAD
RAILWAY
RUPERT BAY
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NENISCAU
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L. EVANS
L. MISTASSINI
MISTASSINI POST
WACONICHI L.
CHIBOUGAMAU
CHIBOUGAMAU L.
CHAPAIS
DORE LAKE
LAC MATAGAMI
MATAGAMI
GULL L.
WASWANIPI POST
WASWANIPI RIVER
BACHELOR LAKE
DESMARAISVILLE
MIQUELON
LEBEL-SUR-QUÉVILLON
LAC PARENT
AMOS
SENNETERRE
VAL D'OR
RESERVOIR GOUIN
ST. FÉLICIEN
POINTE-BLEUE
ROBERVAL
L. ST. JOHN
MONTREAL 250 M.
ST. LAWRENCE R.
78°
76°
74°
72°
70°
51°
50°
49°
48°

INTRODUCTION

The 1500 Cree Indians of the Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemiscau bands are located in north central Quebec in an extensive area south and east of James Bay (see map). Their traditional life way, based on subsistence hunting, trapping and fishing has been changing significantly in recent years as a result of the development of large-scale forestry and mining operations in the region, the introduction of roads and communications, the expansion of governmental services and the decline in fur prices (Chance, 1968). At the same time important modifications in the traditional patterns of enculturation are taking place as a result of the introduction and expansion of formal educational institutions (Sindell, 1968). The Cree Developmental Change Project was designed to investigate the broad ecological, psychological, economic, social and cultural implications of these changes.

The purpose of this report is to examine the ways in which the formal education of Cree youth influences the development of their psychological identity. It is a statement of the context, aims, and methods of our research into the relationship between education and identity conflict experienced by 109 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents attending elementary and high schools in La Tuque, Quebec; Brantford, Ontario; and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

The socialization experiences of these students alternate between, on one hand, the traditional hunting-trapping or fishing groups and the summer settlements, and,on the other, the 'White' urban industrial towns where they attend school. In order to understand the striking difference between these two milieux,aspects of traditional enculturation are described and contrasted with life in the residential schools. Next,the impact of formal education upon parent-child relations is discussed. Given the marked degree of enculturative discontinuity which results from the children's dual socialization it is hypothesized that identity conflict during adolescence will reflect the individual's attempts to resolve apparent incompatibilities between two major models for identification: the traditional Cree model represented primarily by adult kin and the 'White' middle-class or working-class model represented primarily by teachers, counselors and foster parents.[1]

Hypotheses are presented concerning the direction of attempts to resolve identity conflict. Evidence bearing on these hypotheses is drawn from our clinically oriented analysis of the Adolescent Adjustment Interviews obtained from all of these students, supplemented by field data and interviews with other Cree informants. To illustrate the nature and extent of identity conflict, data on four individual students is given. Attempts at conflict resolution by means of a synthesis of the two major identity models are delineated in the latter two cases.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON IDENTITY THEORY

The 'identity concept' is drawn from the theory of personality development elaborated by Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968), who refers to the years of puberty and adolescence as the stage of identity formation. Erikson states that:

> "The conscious feeling of having a personal identity is based on two simultaneous observations: the immediate perception of one's self awareness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity." (1959:23)

The fundamental psychosocial crisis of adolescence is the development and consolidation of a meaningful, consistent sense of ego identity. The process of identity formation may however be intensely conflictual. Feelings of hopelessness and a sense of failure in an individual's efforts to progress toward social and occupational goals consistent with his ego ideal generate anxiety and role confusion. If the adolescent is unable to resolve this identity conflict as he passes into early adulthood, he emerges not with a sense of ego identity, but with identity confusion, characterized by inconsistency of goals, impairment of decision-making ability, and self devaluation.

The likelihood of any individual reaching adulthood with a sense of ego identity predominant over identity confusion depends on three main factors: 1) the resolution of earlier psychosocial crises in the direction of a sense of industry over inferiority, initiative over guilt, autonomy over shame and doubt, and trust over mistrust, 2) the overall adequacy of available models for identification during adolescence, and 3) the potential to realize the various social, occupational and other roles, which taken together conform to his self-image and comprise his sense of ego identity.

The principal models which serve as the basis for identity formation are the parents or parent surrogates. These models are supplemented during puberty and adolescence by individuals or institutions representing different and changing aspects of the individual's ego ideal; such as legendary culture heros, movie or sports stars, political, educational, religious or other figures. The adequacy of the various identity models, parental and others, are tested and emotional realignments are worked out. It follows from this that a certain degree of inter-generational conflict is inevitable in the normal process of adolescent self-definition and individuation from the parents. This conflict is exacerbated however when the adolescent's major identity models embody conflicting cultural values.

METHODOLOGY

This report presents data and hypotheses about education and its relationship to identity conflict among one hundred and nine Cree adolescents from the Mistassini and Maswanipi bands.[2] The one hundred and nine Adolescent Adjustment

Interview protocols represent virtually the total population of adolescents from these two bands who were attending school in 1967 and 1968. The total includes the following:

1. Sixty nine of the seventy Mistassini adolescents at La Tuque in mid 1967 (30 boys, 39 girls).[3]
2. All twenty five Waswanipi adolescents at Brantford in early 1968 (11 boys, 14 girls), (all students at La Tuque and Brantford were in the elementary grades, from "beginners' classes" to Grade eight)
3. All nine Mistassini students (7 boys, 2 girls) and six Waswanipi students (3 boys, 3 girls) attending high schools in Sault Ste. Marie, (Grades nine to thirteen) in early 1968.

Table I presents the distribution of respondents by sex and school locale.

TABLE I: Distribution of Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescent students by sex and school locale.

School locale	Male	Female	Total
La Tuque	30	39	69
Brantford	11	14	25
Sault Ste. Marie	10	5	15
Total	51	58	109

The La Tuque Adolescent Adjustment Interview protocols were collected in May and June of 1967. The Sault Ste. Marie and Brantford interviews were conducted in January of 1968. All interviews were conducted individually in English, under conditions of privacy and confidentiality. The Adolescent Adjustment Interview (see Appendix A.) consists of a schedule of some one hundred questions and usually required from one and a half to two hours to administer. The schedule included many open-ended questions in order to facilitate exploration of psychologically significant material and achieve some of the flexibility of a clinical interview. (see Case Studies, pages 40-41 for a description of some cultural factors which affected administration of this interview.)

The Adolescent Adjustment Interview (AAI) was designed to collect in a relatively standardized way a body of data relating to identity conflict and its resolution. The interview sought to explore the student's self image and ego ideal, to clarify the nature and extent of identity conflict, and to determine the relationships between that conflict and the individual's socialization experiences in the traditional as compared to the urban school environment.

Particular sections of the AAI dealt with educational. occupational, and social aspirations and anxieties about those aspirations, perceptions of the White world, experiences in interacting with Whites, and the prominence of symptoms of inadequacy, anxiety and depression. In constructing the AAI some categorics for investigation were utilized which paralleled sections of the Cree Culture Change Questionnaire (Chance, 1966) to permit controlled comparisons between adolescents and adults with respect to such crucial subjects as attitudes toward work and job training, occupational choices, residential preferences, and value orientations relating to education, arranged marriage, and traditional religion.

Insights gained from field observations and interviews conducted prior to the construction of the AAI assisted significantly in its design. Following its administration to the sixty nine students at La Tuque some additions and modifications of the AAI schedule were made for use with the Sault Ste. Marie and Brantford students. The AAI data has been supplemented by information derived from 1) Clinical interviews of a sample of adults and adolescents during 1967 and 1968 at Mistassini Post, Doré Lake, Chapais, Miquelon, Waswanipi River, Matagami, and the La Tuque Indian Residential School; and 2) ethnographic field work during 1966, 1967 and 1968 at Mistassini Post, Doré Lake, the La Tuque school, and in the bush with a hunting-trapping group. Field data collected before and after administration of the AAI provided contextual information essential for an accurate interpretation of the protocols and other interview material.

During the summer of 1968 thirty four interviews were conducted in the Mistassini region with adolescents and young adults who had not attended school at all or who had gone only for a few years in order to have a control group to compare with those youths with more extensive school careers. A modified version of the AAI was employed in these interviews.

As noted previously this report is preliminary in nature since the analysis of the protocols is still in progress. All field note data, interviews, and AAI protocols relating to individual adolescents, their siblings, and parents have been assembled in family files in order to facilitate our analysis of intrafamilial dynamics as they relate to identity conflict. More extensive statistical and clinical analyses will be completed on the total sample of one hundred and nine AAI student protocols and the thirty four non-student protocols. These findings will be incorporated in the final report of this research.

TRADITIONAL ENCULTURATION AND THE IMPACT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

In the past, a limited number of children received formal education. Usually these children attended distant residential schools for two to four years and then returned to the traditional life of their parents. Generally in the face of parental opposition, these children were arbitrarily selected by missionaries and government officials to attend school. As governmental policies have come to stress the economic and social integration of Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life, governmental encouragement and financial support for Indian education has expanded strikingly. Consequently during the present decade almost all Mistassini and Waswanipi children of school age have attended school and most have continued for many more years than had been usual in the past. Schools have been built at Mistassini Post (a day school, opened January, 1964) and at La Tuque (a residential school, opened September, 1963). Those families who stay at the Post during the winter send their children to the day school there. However, the majority of Mistassini students and almost all Waswanipi students now attend the residential schools at La Tuque, Quebec, and Brantford, Ontario, while their parents are in the bush,[4] dispersed in small hunting-trapping groups. A few older students attend high schools and live with White families in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, but now it is Indian Affairs Branch policy to have Waswanipi and Mistassini students obtain their high school education in their home province of Quebec.

Traditional enculturation

The introduction of extensive formal education, particularly residential school education, has had profound effects upon the socialization of Cree children. Placing Cree students in residential schools located hundreds of miles away from their parents for ten months of each year, in many cases from the age of six onward, radically disrupts the traditional process of enculturation. All students presently in school have participated in traditional Cree life from birth to the age of six and, in many cases, for much more of their lives, Most students in our sample of adolescents did not begin their formal education until the age of eight and some only began much later, in their teens. The older a student is when he enters school the more opportunities he has had to learn traditional skills and play traditionally oriented roles, Further, as he has taken his place in the hunting-trapping group he has had many experiences which have strengthened his committment to traditional values and behavioural patterns.

It is important to understand traditional conceptions of the life cycle because parents' aspirations and expectations for their children are geared to it in almost every way. Parents have been socialized in the traditional manner and because of their limited contact with Euro-Canadian culture they have little knowledge of 'White' child rearing practices and of the dominant society's expectations for adolescents. For example, in the White society adolescents generally are expected to remain in school until they complete high school and are not expected to assume full adult responsibilities until their early or mid twenties. (see Erikson 1959, 1968 for a discussion of this "psychosocial moratorium"). While Euro-Canadian students are in school they are treated in many ways as if they had not reached maturity. In addition they retain a high degree of dependence upon their parents. This long period of dependence and formal training is required by the technological complexity and manpower requirements of industrial society.

In contrast, Cree adolescents traditionally begin to assume adult economic roles at puberty or shortly thereafter and soon contribute substantially to the subsistence base of the family and hunting group. Before puberty their contributions to the hunting group are of some significance but after puberty boys begin to participate actively in hunting and trapping and girls begin to prepare pelts for sale and for making mittens, moccasins and snowshoes. By the late teens and early twenties these Cree youths have gained the necessary practical experience to function effectively as adults in almost every way. The attainment of adult status and skills is recognized and celebrated in several rites de passage. For the girls ritual isolation on the occasion of menarche is the most important. For the boys "first kill" rites for moose, bear, beaver, partridge and water birds play a vital part in developing self esteem and in consolidating an image of oneself as a hunter and trapper. For both sexes,however, marriage normally precedes full social recognition of adult status.

Because of the harsh subarctic climate, the vagaries of hunting, and the isolation of the hunting group, there are many dangers in bush living, such as drowning, serious illness or accident occurring far from any medical assistance, getting lost in the bush, freezing or starving. As a result of these factors early parental death is not uncommon. The nuclear family normally is reconstituted through remarriage of the surviving spouse. Parental death as well as Cree adoption practices, wherein a child lives with his grandparents or other kin to assist them with household tasks, cause important changes in the structure of the household in which a child grows up. As noted in a later section these changes in household membership, as well as the substitution of parental figures which results, cause these children to develop weaker affective ties to parents and/or parent surrogates than those children who have grown up in stable households.

Through observing their parents and elder siblings Cree children learn early in life the basic components of most adult roles. Much children's play is highly imitative and,thus, rehearses adult roles. For example, little girls make 'bannock' out of mud, make hammocks and baby sacks for their dolls, and pretend to cook, sew, lay a bough floor, and skin animals. Our field observations show that children as young as two and a half years old often "help" their mother skin beavers, imitating every stroke of the knife or bone tool. Imitation of parental behaviour is reinforced by attention, smiling, or positive comments. During the summer, little boys commonly pull cardboard boxes and other objects as if they were transporting supplies on toboggans. From four to five years of age onward boys hunt birds and have their own special hunting bag for personal supplies and for the birds they kill. Small boys also set rabbit snares and, with an adult's help initially, set traps near the winter camp for fox, mink and other small game. If an animal is caught there is great excitement in the camp and much attention and praise is given to the successful 'hunter'.

From ages four to six children begin to do chores regularly such as caring for smaller siblings and carrying wood, water and boughs. Frequently children accompany their parents into the bush to search for boughs and firewood and to check those snares and traps which are not far from the camp. As they get older they are given more responsibilities, especially during the winter in the bush since so much effort is required just to keep the dwelling warm and comfortable. Many tasks which children perform are done cooperatively with their siblings, parents, or other kin and these tasks contribute directly to the welfare of the group. Children are aware of their contributions and take pride in their growing competence. In later life such cooperation in work is of great significance and is highly adaptive as it makes the most efficient use of the group's limited labour resources.[6]

Sharing food as well as labour is stressed in Cree culture. Children observe this extensive sharing within the kin group during both winter and summer and participate directly in it. Young children carry gifts of cooked food between the constituent families in the hunting group and in the summer carry gifts of bannock, fish, and game birds between kin. That generosity and sharing food are learned early in life is also illustrated in the exchange of gifts between neighbouring hunting groups during the winter. A small child will receive special delicacies specifically designated for him, from a grandparent for example, which the child then shares. The child learns to reciprocate such gifts, either immediately or later, by sending some tobacco or another delicacy to the person who sent the present to him. Observations indicate that children usually share food and toys very readily.

Self reliance and independence are also important in traditional enculturation but the autonomy which develops is utilized in the service of the family or hunting group. Often in the bush during the winter or at a fishing camp during the summer children have no peers or siblings of the same age level and thus must learn to depend upon themselves for amusement. In addition children have few limitations placed upon their behaviour. They are free to eat whenever and as frequently as they feel hungry, bedtime is not rigidly scheduled, and, except in clearly dangerous situations, such as going in boats unaccompanied, children are permitted to explore their natural surroundings, either alone or in the company of siblings or playmates. In this manner children learn many of the physical skills needed in the bush, such as how to snowshoe and use an axe or other tools. For example we have observed a boy of five experimenting with an axe, chopping down trees many times his own height (often while on snowshoes) and trying to split large logs into a size suitable for the wood stove.

As a child gains skill in performing different kinds of tasks adults pointedly begin to ignore overtly dependent behaviour such as crying or seeking attention and nurture the child's self esteem through approval and encouragement of his new skills and ability to take responsibility. During childhood and adolescence the child learns to handle himself while alone in the bush without getting lost, in all kinds of weather and with many different kinds of tasks to accomplish. For instance on the trapline a boy must be able to recognize and interpret the significance of animal tracks and be able to judge where it is safe to walk on the ice. Such self reliance and the ability to function well without aid or support from other people is crucial in bush life.

In traditional Cree culture, where both individual autonomy and cooperation with others are necessary mechanisms to maintain group solidarity are highly adaptive. One such mechanism is strong social control on the overt expression of agression. Observations show that aggression is defined broadly in Cree society. It includes not only fighting but also raising one's voice inappropriately, refusing direct requests, and directly disputing someone's statements. This applies with particular force in relations between kinsmen and between members of the hunting group. These kinds of behaviour are culturally unacceptable.[7] Throughout the child's socialization fighting, quarreling, and "talking back" are highly disapproved. Corporal punishment is rare; usually threats of corporal punishment, threats of supernatural reprisals, or ridicule are employed. Laughing at someone's foibles or mistakes is not considered aggressive, however, and hostile feelings can be expressed in this manner, or covertly, through gossip, teasing, or, in more serious cases, through accusations of witchcraft.

The impact of formal education: school milieu

Before starting school during the summer most Mistassini and Waswanipi school children have relatively little interaction with Euro-Canadians.[8] In the pre-school period children have clearly traditional models for identification: parents, grandparents, elder siblings, and other kin. Most of these kinsmen speak only Cree and reward the children, implicitly and explicitly, for conformity to traditional values and role expectations. Very recently this has begun to change since older children who have gone to school for many years speak English among themselves and frequently display White-oriented attitudes and behavioural patterns.[9]

Those attending school now experience extreme cultural discontinuities when they leave their families for residential school and as they go back and forth between the summer settlements and the urban school setting. Waswanipi and Mistassini students studied attend the Brantford and La Tuque schools. We shall focus upon these schools in the following discussion.[10]

Some of the initial discontinuities in the enculturation of Cree children in the urban school milieu involve language, food, and rules. Almost without exception Cree children enter school knowing no English or French. Thus they must learn a foreign language and then other subjects through this language.[11] Serious academic problems often result from these linguistic complications. Students acquire a conversational grasp of English fairly quickly and generally pronounce English words correctly, however they encounter great difficulties in reading, reading comprehension, and in the more subtle areas of word meaning.

Because all but the oldest students normally speak Cree among themselves outside the classroom there are few occasions when students can practice their English. In addition students find it useful to speak in Cree so that their dormitory counselors cannot understand them. Yet at the same time they hear and see a great deal of English in movies and on TV and read it in magazines and books, while not having any contact with adult Cree speakers for ten months of every year. Since children's Cree language development has been disrupted by placing them in residential schools early in childhood and for the reasons alluded to above regarding English language usage, the school children use a language which in many ways is becoming a pidgin language, a mixture of Cree and English. Thus, on one hand, these linguistic factors cause children to have great difficulty in their academic work and, on the other hand, have deleterious effects on their ability to speak intelligible Cree to their parents.

Another problem in adapting to school life is food. Only some students complain that they don't get enough to eat, but all students must adapt to differences between the foods available at home and those in school, as well as to differences in the scheduling of meals. At home during the winter moose, beaver, fish, bannock and tea are central components of the diet, which is predominantly protein. During the summer, bannock, tea and fish are the staples. Food may be eaten at any time and people frequently eat small quantities of food several times during the day. At school students must eat at three specific times each day and meals provide far less meat and fish than is characteristic of the traditional Cree diet. Students find the shift to "store food" from "wild food" very difficult and yet many of them come to dislike wild food and bannock after several years at school and prefer store food which they demand when they return home for the summer. Because of the many traditional beliefs about the healthful qualities of wild food and because of the fears of food shortages parents are very upset when their children report that they are not given enough meat to eat in school and wish that their children could have some wild foods.

Because of the stress on independent exploration and self reliance in Cree enculturation students also find it hard to adjust to the many routines and rules which the school has established to cope with the large number of children under its care. Definite scheduling of classes, meals, activities, and bed time, and precise boundaries defining where students can and cannot go in the school are quite difficult to explain to the children. Going into town is also closely controlled. Children do learn to conform substantially to these rules but reprimands are still fairly frequent.

In school children are dependent upon counselors for the satisfaction of almost all of their personal needs, for example clean clothing, soap, toothpaste, letter paper, stamps, etc. Usually it is necessary to line up for these items since each counselor has so many children to care for.[12]

Actively seeking the attention of the counselor is often reinforced in this context because it is necessary in order to obtain satisfaction of one's own individual needs. School experiences such as those enumerated above weaken the self-reliant, exploratory kinds of behaviour which are so adaptive in the bush but provide training in how to cope for oneself in a large group and how to deal with authority figures.

Autonomy is encouraged in the residential school but the focus is on individualistic gains rather than on individuals cooperating for the benefit of the kin group. Teachers encourage students to compete with each other in answering questions and those who answer most promplty win the teacher's approval. Competition is also prominent in extra curricular activities and in the dormitory's cleanliness contests. But in some instance teams or groups compete instead of individuals. Then team or group members must learn to cooperate with different kinds of groups than they have previously been used to, groups of people who are not kin but are just temporarily united for a specific purpose.

Movies, TV, newspapers, books, magazines, dances, clubs and sports teams play a very important role in school life as informal modes of exposure to Euro-Canadian culture. It is these activities, especially hockey for the boys, that students say they like best about school. Because the residential schools are "total institutions" in most ways, (Goffman 1961) those students who do not attend school with White children have few opportunities for meaningful interaction with White peers or adults outside the school. However, through clubs which have integrated memberships and through some sports competitions the Cree students get to know some of their White peers, and occasionally form friendships with them.

The media, especially movies, TV, teenage magazines, and comic books are very popular with the students and influence their perception of the Euro-Canadian sociocultural system. In many cases a distorted image of the Euro-Canadian society is conveyed, for example, by the tremendous stress on romantic love in the teenage magazines. Another example is the violent character of numerous TV programmes such as "Bat Man" and "Space Ghost", two of the smaller children's favourites. The children's frequent imitation of such TV characters is an indication of the importance of these media as a source of behavioural examples.

Cree students also learn more open ways of expressing hostility through the example of their White peers and the residential school staff. In school White students often argue with the teachers, mock them, and defy their requests. In the residential schools counselors and teachers, overtired and frustrated by the demands of caring for large numbers of children, sometimes yell orders to the students, or, very occasionally swat one. Serious disciplinary cases are sent to the Principal for strapping.

All children are expected to do certain personal chores in the dormitory such as cleaning their rooms and making their beds. Younger children have other simple tasks to do such as cleaning the baseboards in the halls. These young children enjoy both kinds of tasks and take pride in their efforts as they do at home. Older students, however, distinguish between keeping their rooms clean and neat, which they do readily, and the other more time consuming jobs they must do, such as cleaning the bathrooms or working in the kitchen or laundry. Older children often resent those kinds of tasks and try to avoid them. If they are reprimanded they quickly learn to "talk back". There seem to be several reasons underlying this attitude. One possible reason is that they resent being "treated like little kids", for example being constantly corrected and told when to wash their hands and when to line up to enter or leave the dining room,by counselors who frequently are scarcely older than they are. Another possible factor is that they feel they are doing the job "for the counselor"; they seem to feel these jobs bear no direct relevance to their own needs. Whatever the reasons students do develop the habit of "talking back" to adults when they dislike what they have been told to do.

Although students dislike many aspects of residential school life, such as the regimentation, they do enjoy many other aspects of school life. Sports and other extra-curricular activities are one major source of positive gratification. The students' contact with the wider world is another. Many students take an avid interest in current events, for example, and others are fascinated by a desire to emulate the singers, movie stars and sports stars whom they read about in magazines and see on television. For yet other students academic prowess and high grades become important and meaningful.

The most important attractions of school, however, are the personal relationships which develop; friendships with students from other communities and close relationships with counselors, teachers and foster families. As the students get to know the staff, many of whom live in the dormitories with the students, in class, in activities and in work, many students, especially older ones, confide in their favourite teacher or counselor and seek information and advice about their aspirations and problems. Because of conflicts over school routines these relationships are sometimes strained, but it is clear that many students and staff members derive emotional gratification from them. It is not uncommon for staff members to take students out to dinner on their days off, to take children on short trips or to have one or more children to visit them during the summer.

As the students proceed through school becoming more familiar with the urban Euro-Canadian life style they begin to value education and enjoy school life. Nonetheless, negative feelings about the regimentation of school life and the annual separation from their families remain. The feelings of ambivalence which result are reflected in the attitudes toward school attendance which are characteristic of the students at different times of the year.

Thus in late summer students say they don't want to return to school and when they first return they don't like it. By Christmas, however, they have readjusted to school life and they like it on the whole. By the end of the spring students are reluctant to return home. When they first return home they are happy to see their parents, grandparents, and siblings, although frequently they feel ill at ease with them. As the summer progresses students become bored with the limited range of recreational activities available at the summer settlements and miss many of the conveniences of life at school such as daily baths, hot water and electricity. As the beginning of the school term approaches students are reluctant to leave their families and give up the greater freedom from restriction they have enjoyed during the summer.

These feelings are intensified as they observe their family's preparations for the fall journey to the hunting grounds

The impact of formal education: traditional milieu

Most Cree parents reluctantly allow their children to attend school but feel that the effects are deleterious in many respects. Most parents say that children who have gone away to school for several years come back during the summer unable to speak Cree adequately, unwilling to help with household chores, and generally "sučemuč", which can be translated as rebellious and disrespectful. Our observations confirm that in large measure parents' statements about their children's misbehaviour are justified in terms of traditional norms. However in some cases parents' expectations of misbehaviour lead them to misinterpret their children's actions.

After several years in school children do have great difficulty in speaking Cree and find it hard to communicate meaningfully with their parents or older kin. Older students almost invariably speak English (mixed with Cree) with their peers and siblings. Parents often feel that children talk in English in order to prevent them from understanding what they are saying. Furthermore parents tend to associate the use of English with hostility because when children are angry they often yell at their parents or siblings in English. Parents complain that children fight and quarrel much more after they have gone to school and seem unconcerned about the danger of hurting each other.

Children and parents differ too in their perception of household chores. School children feel that they have been "working" hard all year in their studies and should not have to work so hard doing chores during the summer. Furthermore students have become used to having clean clothing supplied by the laundry and having food prepared by the school kitchen and miss these services. On the other hand parents feel that students have been "lazy" all winter and haven't done any real work while they have had to cope with the ardours of life on the trapline. For this reason parents feel that during the summer school children should help the family to do the washing, cooking, carrying of wood and water, and other tasks. Given these different conceptions about how students should spend the summer, misunderstandings frequently arise and the older students tend to "talk back" to their parents.

In these circumstances students develop negative feelings toward their parents and the traditional life they represent. Accordingly a state of ambivalence results which reflects their growing identity conflict. One observable manifestation of their ambivalence is their tendency to alternate between expressing traditional as compared to White oriented social and occupational goals.

Conversely, parents frequently are annoyed with their adolescent children because, in Cree terms, they are acting immaturely. Because students have been away for so many years during childhood and adolescence they have never had the opportunity to learn the technical and physical skills required for successful bush life. If adolescents leave school and return to their families they are of little use to the hunting group for several years. In contrast, youths who have never gone to school or have gone for only a short time can function effectively in the traditional milieu.

Our data confirms that intergenerational conflict reaches a peak early in adolescence as parents become painfully aware of students' resistance to the traditional life and of their very close association with their student peer group. The emergence of an adolescent subculture based on shared experiences of school and the White world is a new phenomenon for the Mistassini and Waswanipi bands. In the past three years one manifestation of the growing importance of the Cree teenage subculture has been the organization of thriving "Beaver Clubs" for dances and other group activities. Parents disapprove of their teenage children staying out late at Beaver Club functions, the purposes of which they poorly understand. They react to the emergence of this adolescent subculture as a threat to the stability of intrafamilial social controls. For the student however his peer group serves as an important source of behavioural norms and a supplementary model for identification incorporating, in large measure, White middle-class values.

Despite these strains in intrafamilial relations positive affective ties between parents and children generally remain strong. In most cases children feel very unhappy and guilty after arguing or talking back to their parents. Even then problems intrude, for, as one informant told us tearfully, she couldn't even remember how to apologize in Cree to her mother.

Students also retain strong commitments to many traditional norms, for example, generosity and cooperation in interpersonal relations, support for one's family and kin, and concern for the welfare of ageing parents. The ability to speak and understand Cree is also still valued highly. Because they retain strong positive feelings for their parents and kin and because many traditional values and practices continue to be deeply meaningful to them, marked identity conflict among Cree adolescents is widespread. These students do not want to abandon their families and their culture in order to assimilate into Euro-Canadian society. But neither do they want to renounce the White-oriented middle class or working class aspirations they have acquired during their school careers.

IDENTITY CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION: FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

Review of the AAI protocols reveals that by early adolescence the 'White' identity model has become meaningful for those Cree students who have developed emotionally supportive relationships with one or more of their teachers or dormitory counselors and have not experienced serious difficulties in coping with school work. By this time students have begun to develop a complex of educational, occupational and social aspirations that are as yet imprecise but are clearly non-traditional. Nonetheless the strength of family relationships is such that these students also retain significant emotional commitments to the 'Traditional' identity model.

Data from the protocols of thirteen and fourteen year old students indicates that on one hand they wish to go on with their schooling, become mechanics, bush pilots or doctors, live in towns or cities and raise small families. On the other hand they equally wish to be hunters and trappers, live in the bush and at the summer settlements, marry Cree girls chosen by their parents, and have large families who would eventually help them on the trapline. Similarly, girls wish to be stewardesses, secretaries or nurses while at the same time retaining a deep desire to return to their families, have their marriages arranged by their parents and fulfill traditional adult female roles.

At this early stage of identity conflict students often do not consciously conceptualize the incompatibilities inherent in their divergent aspirations. Our data suggests that in their wish to win approval from and avoid anxiety provoking confrontation with both traditional kin and significant Whites, these students initially attempt to resolve identity conflict through fantasy formation. That is, they attempt by means of fantasy to gratify their wish to simultaneously incorporate both a Traditional and a White identity. To the extent that these efforts are successful, affective ties with both parents and White parent surrogates are not seriously strained.

However, attempts to resolve identity conflict in this way are no longer effective in later adolescence. Identity conflict intensifies as unavoidable and sharpening confrontations occur with parents.

Review of the protocols collected from students age fifteen to seventeen shows that: 1) there is frequently a marked disparity between these individuals' stated social, educational and occupational aspirations and their expectations of achievement, 2) there is a strong tendency toward feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure among those students whose goals most closely resemble those of middle class Whites, and 3) there is evidence that in some cases anxiety generated by identity conflict is sufficiently intense to produce recognizable and even marked psychopathology.[13]

Drawing on our global assessment of the data contained in the 109 AAI protocols, we hypothesize that attempts to resolve identity conflict will take one of three major directions: a) polarization toward a 'White' identity model, b) polarization toward a 'Traditional' model, or c) synthesis of the two models.

Polarization toward a White identity model

It is hypothesized that Cree students who have internalized feelings of rejection in their family relationships and have established emotionally supportive relationships with White surrogate parents will be more likely to polarize toward a White identity model.

Anxiety aroused by separation from parents is characteristic of children attending day school for the first time. But for Cree children at residential school, the complete separation from parents for the ten-month school year causes a significant rupture in family relationships which exacerbates pre-existing fears of rejection and contributes to the child's tendency to interpret separation as rejection. Our field observations of family interaction have established that feelings of rejection arise in many children when they return to their families for the summer and are strongly criticized by adult kin for being "lazy" and "rebellious". These feelings are further intensified by the invidious comparisons parents draw between students and their siblings who have had little or no formal education.

Death of a parent during the student's childhood is commonly reported by Cree adolescents. Feelings of rejection are described by a number of students in our sample who have been raised by a step-parent. These students feel that the step-parent cares little about them and is only concerned about their half-siblings and step-siblings. Our field observations indicate that such rejection does occur.[14]

It is hypothesized that students who are affected by circumstances such as those outlined suffer an impairment in self-esteem that leads to growing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. Resentment directed toward the rejecting parent increases the strain on intrafamilial affective ties, intensifies identity conflict and contributes to the student's polarization toward a White identity model.

The effect of internalizing feelings of rejection is to push the individual away from the 'Traditional' identity model. However there are also factors pulling him toward the 'White' identity model. It is hypothesized that the most important factor in this regard is the development of emotionally meaningful relationships with White teachers, counselors and foster families, who thus come to serve as parent surrogates representative of the White middle or working class. Data from AAIs and observations in the residential schools show that a considerable number of Cree students do form close supportive relationships with their teachers, counselors and foster families. In some cases, however, profound feelings of parental rejection are a major factor underlying the student's search for a substitute relationship. The result is that the stability of the relationship is jeopardized to the degree that the student carries over his fears of rejection from parents to White parent surrogates.

A close friend or an older sibling who has developed a White oriented identity can also be an important model for identification and encourage White polarization. Finally it is possible that with continuing change in parental values, polarization toward a White identity model may be encouraged explicitly or implicitly by the parents themselves.

Attempts to resolve identity conflict through White polarization are fraught with difficulties. The student begins with a devalued self-image and a sense of inadequacy as a result of internalized feelings of parental rejection. In polarizing toward a White identity model, feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure in achieving his aspirations in the White world are subsequently aroused. These feelings and fears are heightened by the student's growing awareness of condescension and prejudice by Whites. Feelings of hopelessness and a sense of emotional isolation follow, thus increasing anxiety and intensifying rather than resolving identity conflict.

The extent to which polarization toward a White identity model could be expected to represent a successful resolution of identity conflict would depend on the degree of congruence between the student's goals, his potential to achieve them and the degree to which access to the dominant White society is possible or encouraged (Chance 1965; Graves 1967; Berreman 1964; Parker 1964).

Polarization toward a Traditional identity model

It is hypothesized that polarization toward a traditional Cree identity will be likely to occur when the child has started school at a relatively advanced age (beyond age ten) by which time enculturation along traditional lines is far advanced. In such cases sex-appropriate traditional role behaviours have been reinforced and traditional modes of gratification have been internalized to a high degree. But in order for this process of enculturation to result in a firm emotional commitment to the traditional life, the child must be secure in his relationship to parents, close kin and other individuals who have played key roles in his pre-school socialization. Where these conditions are fulfilled it is hypothesized that the 'Traditional' identity model will retain its strength during subsequent years of formal education in the White urban milieu, and be reinforced during summers spent with the family. Explicit and implicit devaluation by Whites of traditional values and traditional modes of behaviour could be expected to provoke reactions of defensive withdrawal in these students, and encourage polarization toward the 'Traditional' identity model. But this would not engender the devaluation of self-image characteristic of the group previously described.

It is hypothesized that this type of polarization will successfully resolve identity conflict if traditional roles, or modifications of them, are still available and continue to provide gratification for these individuals when they stop attending school.[15]

Synthesis of identity models

The third possible means by which identity conflict can be resolved is through the synthesis of both 'White' and 'Traditional' models. It is hypothesized that this will occur given the following conditions: 1) positive affective parent-child relationships in the pre-school period and their reinforcement during summers when the student is reunited with his family, 2) some degree of encouragement, or at least the absence of strong parental opposition toward the student's educational and occupational aspirations, 3) development of positive affective ties with a) those Whites (teachers, counselors, foster families) and b) those Indians (adult kin, older siblings and friends, whose White orientations have not been accompanied by rejection of Indian values and personal ties) who serve as models for the building of the student's ego ideal and reinforce his aspirations, and 4) the elaboration of social, educational and occupational goals consistent with the student's potential for their achievement.

Where this synthesis of identity models is successful, it is hypothesized that anxiety will be reduced and identity conflict resolved. The student achieves an effective integration of values and behavioural patterns derived from the dominant 'White' culture without becoming psychologically alienated from his family and the cultural values they embody. For this process to be successful, the individual would require sufficient familiarity with and access to institutions of the White world (economic, legal, social, and political) so that his goals could be effectively pursued. It would require that appropriate opportunities be available in the region so that the individual could maintain[16] contacts with family and community.

The collection of AAI protocols from Waswanipi adolescents attending schools at Brantford and Sault Ste. Marie makes it possible to test an additional hypothesis,that synthesis of identity models will be more likely to occur among Waswanipi students. This hypothesis is based on research reports and field notes of the Cree Developmental Change Project (La Rusic, 1967; Tanner, 1967) indicating that adults of the Waswanipi band, in contrast to those of the Mistassini band, have had more formal education, have more positive attitudes toward non-traditional occupational roles and formal education for their children, and have had more experience in the Euro-Canadian economic system.

RESEARCH FINDINGS: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

In this section, case material is presented to illustrate identity conflict and its resolution. Particular attention is directed toward the illustration of attempts at resolution of identity conflict through the synthesis of identity models. To set the case illustrations within the framework of the study as a whole, some statistical findings are outlined. In the final report statistical and more extensive clinical analyses will be presented to clarify the etiology of identity conflict and test the hypotheses previously outlined.

A total of 109 AAIs were completed , of which 51 were of males, and 58 of female students. The total of 109 protocols was obtained from 15 students (9 Mistassini and 6 Waswanipi) attending high school in Sault Ste. Marie, 69 teenage elementary students of the Mistassini band enrolled in schools in La Tuque, and 25 Waswanipi adolescents at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford.[17]

On the basis of a global assessment of each AAI, individual protocols were rated with respect to clearly defined identity conflict (C), synthesis of identity models (S), polarization toward the Traditional identity model (T), and psychopathology (P). No separate category was utilized for cases of polarization toward the 'White' identity model because most such cases revealed clear evidence of identity conflict and were included in that category. The majority of students with recognizable psychopathology is comprised of individuals who have attempted, with little success as yet, to resolve identity conflicts through 'White' polarization.

It will be understood from the foregoing that in some cases identity conflict and psychopathology may both be present and clearly defined. In other cases there may be evidence of both identity conflict and synthesis of models. The reason that more than one category may be applicable for an individual student is that the process of identity formation is being examined before the youth under study have completed their adolescence. Further attempts at resolution of conflict will occur as adolescence proceeds and knowledge of their outcome would require follow-up evaluation at the end of adolescence, (a study the authors wish to carry out at a later date). Therefore the combined incidence of (C), (S), (T), and (P) is greater than the total number of individuals studied.

Of the 109 students interviewed, 46 (42%) show clear evidence of identity conflict. In 39 cases (36%) there are strong indications of synthesis of identity models. The protocols of 36 adolescents (33%) reveal marked polarization toward the Traditional model. Identity confusion characterizes 15 subjects (14%) whose attempts at resolution of identity conflict have miscarried to the extent that psychopathological symptoms are discernible. The distribution of these four categories by sex and school locale is given in Table II.

TABLE II: Distribution of clearly identifiable cases of identity conflict (C), synthesis of identity models (S), 'Traditional' identification (T), and psychopathology (P) according to sex and school locale.

	(C)		(S)		(T)		(P)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
School locale								
La Tuque	7	22	16	5	11	13	1	12
Brantford	7	2	2	4	4	8	1	1
Sault Ste.Marie	6	2	8	4	0	0	1	0
Total	20	26	26	13	15	21	3	13

Comparison of findings for high school students with those of elementary students indicates that while identity conflict is more characteristic of high school students (53%) than it is of students whose school careers are less extensive (40%), the incidence of synthesis of identity models increases as the experience of formal education in urban settings increases. That is, 80% of protocols collected from high school students at Sault Ste. Marie reveal clearly defined synthesis of identity models compared with 29% of the La Tuque and Brantford samples. Furthermore, only one high school student out of fifteen gave clear evidence of psychopathology compared with 15 (16%) of the 94 elementary students studied. Contrary to our hypothesis there were no statistically significant differences in global ratings of (C) and (S) between Mistassini and Waswnipi high school students.

The relatively small number of high school students makes meaningful comparisons difficult, but these findings do suggest that with increasing years of formal education in a 'White' urban environment, especially under conditions of living with a White family, identity conflict among Cree adolescents is increasingly and successfully resolved through synthesis of identity models, rather than resulting in identity confusion and manifest symptomatology. Finally, with increasing years at school, polarization toward the Traditional identity model becomes less and less common as a means of coping with identity conflict. No cases of (T) polarization were recorded for high school students. The major reason for this finding is that those students with strong traditional orientation tend to stop school at an earlier stage in their academic careers.

Case Studies

In the following presentations of case material drawn from four AAI protocols, each case includes a summary and brief analysis, the purpose of which is to delineate the major areas of unconscious conflict that can be inferred from the AAI responses. There are two major indicators of such conflict: the degree of anxiety that becomes manifest in connection with specific questions in the interview schedule, and the nature of inconsistencies in responses to questions probing such key topics as parental attitudes, the strength of intrafamilial relationships, future aspirations and expectations and feelings of inadequacy.

The four cases have been selected to illustrate the early development of identity conflict, the characteristics of marked identity conflict associated with 'White' polarization, and the nature of both early and more advanced attempts to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of identity models.

One of the fundamental problems in research on identity conflict is how to demonstrate its presence in puberty or early adolescence when the individual's ability to discuss or even verbalize his inner feelings may be very limited. This problem appeared to be the more serious for research with Cree youth in view of the culturally-determined reticence characteristic of the Cree (see Preston, 1966). Reticence in talking about feelings, especially those negative emotions of anger or disappointment which relate to parents or parent surrogates, and the culturally-determined reluctance to speculate about an uncertain future represented the two most difficult obstacles to obtaining detailed information. These difficulties were especially apparent with students in early adolescence. In some cases limited fluency in English made establishment of rapport and communication of complex feelings even more difficult.[18]

However it did prove possible to elicit clear evidence of the emergence of identity conflict in early adolescence, as illustrated by the first of the case presentations, that of a 13 year old Waswanipi boy.[19]

Case One

A.B. has been attending residential school for six years, is in Grade six, and has a good command of English. He is a cheerful, friendly boy, who was relatively easy to interview. He likes school, especially the sports activities and is a very enthusiastic member of one of the school hockey teams. His active interest in academic work is somewhat unusual among students his age. He gets along quite well with peers from the Waswanipi region, and has a number of good friends at school. He likes his dormitory supervisor and does not find it difficult to talk with him.

A.B.'s father is a trapper, a man in his mid-forties. During the summer the family lives at a frontier settlement (Pothier, 1968a) where the father is employed at the IAB's commercial fishing operations packing fish and loading it for shipment. (La Rusic, 1968a; Tanner, 1968). His father had no formal education but is able to speak and understand English to some extent. His mother, who has a Grade nine education and speaks English, is unusual in this respect among women of her generation. However, she has adopted a traditional life-style, helping her husband on the trap-line, preparing furs, cooking and caring for the children. A.B.'s two older siblings have attended high school and one is presently working in a large city. He likes the kind of work his father does and says that he would like to be a trapper and fisherman himself one day.

But he also wants to finish school. He says this in a somewhat questioning tone, but he thinks he'd like to go as far as Grade twelve; "then go to work" (by which he means wage employment). A.B. thinks he might "help build the roads" or else "fly one of them(bush) planes." Talking about where he would like to live when he stopped school, A.B. became anxious, and after some delay mentioned Mistassini. Then he named a city in northern Ontario. Toward the end of the interview, when this subject was discussed again, he mentioned two other cities, one in southern Quebec, the other in northern Ontario. He did not choose any location in the Waswanipi region.

He was happy to return home for the summer; to go fishing with his brother or father, and especially to help his father prepare and pack fish for shipment. But at the end of the summer he was also glad to see his friends again at school, and to resume his schoolwork, which he finds easy to do. Answering questions in class does not make him nervous, in contrast to the majority of younger Cree students.

He likes school, but he feels that his parents do not want him to continue. His father, he whispered, "really feels lonely. There are just two in the tent. He wants me to quit. They both want me to quit. My mother says to help my father because he has nobody to help him in the bush. But I don't say anything. I don't want to quit."

When asked if he has trouble deciding things, A.B. became tense, picked at the back of his hand, and slumping over so that only the top of his head was visible above the desk surface, he shook his head to indicate 'no'. At another point in the interview he seemed to be on the point of tears as he covered his face with his hand and nodded affirmatively in response to the question: "Do you often feel that your parents don't understand how you feel about things". In response to the follow up question, if he was thinking about school, he again nodded affirmatively, but could not be drawn out verbally. He feels unhappy more often at home than at school. However, when he is at home, and is worried about things, he confides in his older brother, who encourages him to keep on with his education.

A.B.'s anxiety and ambivalence with respect to education and its implications in terms of conflict with his parents is revealed once again when he is asked to give his opinion of the following situation:

> "Two people are talking: the first says that it is better for children to stay in school as long (many years) as they can. The second person says that it is better to stay in school a few years but come back (home) soon to learn the Indian ways. What do you think about that?"

A.B. chose the alternative of limited schooling but could not explain the reasons for his choice.

This question relating to the value of education is one of a series of five value orientation questions structured in a similar way, with the student being asked to choose between a generally traditional and a generally 'modern' or acculturated alternative in a given situation. A.B.'s choices tended to be traditional. He felt that Indians, and particularly his father, like trapping and don't want to stop if given the alternative of steady wage employment. He felt that trapping was easier work than wage employment, and that the traditional use of the drum in hunting should be continued. He favoured the alternative of the government providing the Waswanipi band with a new reserve near a road rather than allocating each man his own individual land to use as he desired. However he explained his choice on the basis that "when we buy cars we can go someplace," indicating in some measure a wish to get away from the reserve (life).

The importance and usefulness of owning a car appears again when he talks about the possibility of having a family of his own. He thought he would like to have five children. When asked why, he became silent, looked away from the interviewer, and eventually replied in a whisper: "cause when they grow up, they'll work and have lots of money and buy a car..." His reply also reveals that he wishes his children to have wage employment rather than traditional roles, and to adopt White value orientations relating to personal achievement and material possessions.

A.B. specified two types of work he might like to do when he grows up: "transport fish" and "be a doctor". Earlier in the interview he thought he would like to work on road construction or as a bush pilot. He looked worried and refused to speculate about what kind of work he most likely would be doing when he was ten years older. He was also reluctant to speculate about where he would probably be living when he grew up saying that he might die before then. Assuming he was alive though, he chose a city in southern Quebec.

In a final group of questions, A.B. is asked: "If you had $500. how would you use it?" This question is followed by others dealing with what his father and mother would do with a like sum. The purpose of these questions is to assess the degree to which the student retains the traditional high valuation of sharing; of contributing to the welfare of the family as a whole, rather than placing primary emphasis on individual property and achievement. The individual's choice of items he would purchase could, in addition, point to his choice of life-style, and reflect the direction of his attempts to resolve identity conflict. In the present case, A.B. gave the following ranked order of personal choices: 1) "I'd buy a house;" 2) "a Honda"; 3) "a boat with a motor on it"; and 4)"a skidoo". He thought that his father would use $500 "the same way as me." The ranked order of choices for his father was: a house, a boat, a gun, a motorcycle. He thought his mother would buy household utensils, a dress, and "a birthday present for me". This series of answers suggests that strongly positive affective ties are maintained with both parents, to the extent that he fantasizes his father choosing, like himself, a house, a boat, and a motorcycle, while his mother shows her continuing affection for him by buying him a birthday present. While the significance of the choice of the house could only be clarified by A.B.'s answer to the follow-up question about where he might like the house to be located, there is ample evidence that he would prefer to live in a city rather than on a reserve. And his choice of a motorcycle appears to parallel his earlier remarks about the value of a car. Thus, although the theme of wishing to live in a city is repeated, A.B.'s simultaneous wish to maintain close ties with his family, and his anxiety about separation from parents and traditional attachments are reflected in his other choices: the boat and motor for fishing and the skidoo for trapping, an item that has its equivalent in his choice of a gun for his father.

The desire to maintain solidarity with his father, to be helpful to him, "to go along with him" in life even in the face of grave danger, can be recognized in A.B.'s account of a recurrent dream, the only one he can remember:

> "We were going up a mountain, my father and me. The rocks fell and my father and I fell down, and then I started to yell. I woke up and I got scared."

In summary, A.B. is experiencing an early stage of identity conflict. His principal model for identification is his father, with whom he maintains a strongly positive relationship. A.B. would like to follow his father's traditional life-style; to stop school and "learn the Indian ways"; to help his father hunt, trap and fish. But White working-class and middle-class identity models are assuming considerable importance at the same time. These models are represented by his teachers and dormitory supervisor, with whom he relates positively, and his two older siblings, one of whom he confides in and who encourages him to continue his education and the other of whom has adopted an urban White working-class life-style. His choices of where he would like to live mainly involve cities and do not include the Waswanipi region where his parents live. The occupational roles he might like are predominantly White working-class type; road construction, bush pilot, and "transporting fish", but they all would allow him to live in the Waswanipi-Mistassini region and thereby retain the close contact with his family that is strongly reassuring to him.

With respect to educational aspirations there is manifest conflict with his parents. He expresses the wish to finish school, and even perhaps to become a doctor. But he feels that his parents are opposed to these aspirations and want him to stop school. This subject of conflict arouses marked anxiety in A.B. which he attempts to defend against by suppressing the conflict and repressing the hostile impulses toward his parents which are aroused by it. Accordingly he reluctantly devalues prolonged education in preference to the alternative of returning to learn the Traditional life way after a few years of school. Again he emphasizes his wish for unity with his father in the recurrent dream of their striving together.

Nonetheless negative feelings for the traditional life style may be inferred not only from his stated desire to live in an urban setting and work for wages (rather than go trapping like his father), but also from the choices of work and life style he fantasizes for his children. These choices could well reflect the displacement of his own wishes onto his children. The indirect expression of his wishes in this way appears to reflect his marked apprehension about being able to achieve his aspirations in the face of parental opposition.

Another possible indication of negative feelings for the traditional life is his considerable preoccupation with the value of a car (or a motorcycle) as a means of "going someplace". The implication cannot be overlooked that he equally wishes to go away from someplace or something he does not like.

A.B. attempts to reduce his anxiety and resolve identity conflict by means of a fantasized simultaneous gratification of his wishes to incorporate both identity models. He maintains a fantasied solidarity with his parents by adopting a variety of traditional choices with respect to education (limited), occupation (trapping, packing fish) and social scale (living on the reserve, retaining close ties with kin, participating in the religious life of the hunting group). At the same time he fantasizes gratification of White oriented occupational roles (doctor, bush pilot), residential pattern (city or large town) and social aspirations (prolonged education, wage employment, material possessions - house, car, large income - for his children if not for himself). It must be emphasized though that at the present time A.B. is hardly consciously aware of any conflict with his family or within himself, and does not recognize the conflicting wishes and attempts at their resolution which emerge from the AAI protocol responses.

Case Two

As adolescence advances and identity conflict intensifies the direction of the individual's attempts to resolve that conflict becomes amenable to more detailed investigation as the following case illustrates.

This case concerns a 16 year old girl who is enrolled in Grade seven at a community school while she continues to live at the residential school (dormitory). Each winter her father "goes hunting . Except this winter; he was helping like to build the houses" (at the summer settlement). She is the eldest of four children. Her parents have spent the past several summers near a small tourist lodge, where her father works as a fishing guide. During the past summer C.D. worked at the lodge as well; "cleaning up the cabins where the tourists were, and washing the dishes. The boss asked me to work there and my father said it was O.K. if I wanted to." Neither of her parents has been to school. Her mother, she said, "works around our place, like washing clothes, cutting the wood, washing the dishes and all that." Asked if she would like to do that kind of work, C.D. rather suddenly lost her animated manner and slowly, reluctantly replied in the affirmative. "If I stayed home I would. If I stopped school I guess I would do it, but....well, yes, I guess so."

C.D. started school eight years ago at a northern frontier town, but prefers her present school because, "well, it's different. Like that other place wasn't a town, I guess I like the town (here). There's more to do."

She does not find it difficult to talk with the counselors at the school residence. "Some of them, the ones I know, I like to sit down and carry on a conversation with them." Her favourite counselor is an Indian girl of another tribe, a few years older than herself. "She talks to me about education. She tells me not to quit; she's trying hard for me to get through school. And we talk about home problems too. Well, I mean - like I don't think my parents want me to come back to school next fall and she tells me to try hard to come back."

C.D. has not lived with a 'White' family, but has stayed with one for a few days. "I met their daughter in the Girl Guides when I first came to school here. She asked me to come and stay with them for Christmas. It was a lot different from school. Here (at school) you can't stay up and watch the TV; and it seemed more quiet there."

She feels that she has little difficulty making friends, either with Indian or White students, and listed a number of girls at the residence as close friends. But she did not include any of her White classmates among her friends. She says that she does not have trouble getting along with her White classmates; "but maybe with the other kids, like in Grade nine and up. Some of them are friendly, but some are, well, I don't know what to call them. The first year I went to this school they'd talk to me, but now they don't talk to me at all. I guess they're shy. But I have some (White) friends too. One of them is in Grade nine and two are in Grade ten. My friend Janet, she says I'm real shy. I mean, I talk to anyone who talks to me, but ... I don't know. Well, sometimes I'd go to school alone and I'd find myself in a group with White kids, like with Janet and the other two kids I know. But when the others come I get really nervous and shy and can't talk to them. I don't know them I guess. And when I go to town alone I get really nervous and shy."

In fact she often feels nervous when she is with Whites she doesn't know; with adults as well as with other students. She also feels insecure in her relationship with the counselors. "If one of them asks me to iron their uniforms I get really scared I might burn it or something." She becomes upset if her counselors or friends criticize her.

C.D. would like to continue her education; "to finish it. Here it's up to Grade eleven." She has had no difficulty with schoolwork until this year when she encountered some problems with her language course; but this may be a sign of her anxiety about not doing well in that subject since the language teacher is her favourite teacher. Asked what she would do when she finished school, she replied; "I haven't made up my mind yet between a nurse's course or a secretary's course." She was reluctant to speculate about the sort of work she might like her husband to do: "I never thought about it - maybe work, or teach, - I don't know."[21]

As for where she might like to live when she finished school, she immediately mentioned Montreal. No other choices were given. Toward the end of the interview when these subjects were referred to again, C.D. thought that if she could live anywhere she liked in ten years time, she would prefer "to live the way I'm living now; the White man's way." She named two towns where she would like to live, the one where the school is located, the other where her friend Janet's family lives. On the condition that she was able to finish school, she remained firm in her desire to be a nurse or a secretary, "But", she added in a tone of resignation, "if I can't go through school, I guess I'll go back home and then I'll probably be doing the same kind of work as my mother."

C.D. was happy to return home for the summer. "Well, you know, after being in school ten months and not seeing my parents and my little brother." She was also happy to return to school at the end of the summer; "to continue to go to school, to get to know more."

She feels that her parents are not in favour of her further attendance at school. "Well, when I started my father liked the idea, but later when I was growing up he thought I'd be helpful - like to help my mother with all the things at home, and he wanted me to stop going to school. I guess he changed his mind because when I was younger he said that I could finish (school)". Her father began to talk to her about stopping school during the preceding summer. "He was telling me to quit. But I don't want to quit. He said they needed help and my mother wanted to teach me the Indian way of living, making moccasins and snowshoes and all that." Her mother, she said, felt the same way as her father. "She wanted me to help her at home and she wanted to teach me the Indian way of living." C.D. felt ill-at-ease during the summer at home. She was particularly upset by the disagreement with her parents about her education. "Like my father said; 'next summer when you come home you're not going to go back to school.' I wouldn't mind to quit if I fail, but if I pass I'd like to go back. It's just that I know how important it is, and they're wanting me to quit. It's hard I guess. They have never been to school. And I'm used to living this way in the school and its different back home; you know, the taps, the running water and electricity and all that."

She has been worried and unhappy about this situation and has talked it over with her counselor; "but sometimes I'd want to just keep it to myself. She'd see that something was wrong and she'd ask me. But she can't really help."

In response to the question as to whether it was better for Indian children to stay in school or return after a few years to learn the Indian ways, she looked sad as she said: "I think - I don't know, it's hard. I'd choose the first one (to stay in school), but the second one is how I think my parents see it." She was certain, however, in her conviction that Indians would be willing to stop trapping if they could get a good job.

While discussing her anxiety about school and the conflict with her parents about remaining at home to help her mother, C.D. spoke about feeling frightened sometimes; "like having a nightmare that my parents and I are going on the lake and the waves are really big and the boat tips over. Or when I dream about having an accident; breaking an arm or something like that." These were the only dreams she could remember.

Asked to describe the qualities required of a good chief, she thought he should be "a man who is not shy to speak up, who is understanding - and - a man who doesn't drink too much." The last quality was mentioned with considerable hesitation, and spoken in a whisper. She also felt that a good chief ought to be able to speak English. With respect to education, she noted that "there aren't many who have been to school. To the Indians it wouldn't make any difference, but I think it would be better if the chief had gone to school."

C.D. had mentioned that she might like her husband "to work"; perhaps to be a teacher. She was asked toward the end of the interview if she would prefer to marry a White boy or an Indian boy. She replied that; "it doesn't matter to me. My mother said that if I married an Indian I wouldn't be able to (know how to) make him moccasins and things, but she didn't say for the White. I guess she wouldn't mind if I married an Indian who didn't have a Band number, like those girls who get married back home and go to live in town."

At this point in the AAI the following alternative choice question is asked:

> "Two young Indians were talking; one said that when it is time to get married, the wife or husband should be chosen by the parents; everyone will be happier that way. The other person said that the young people should choose their wife or husband by themselves. What do you think about that?"

C.D. became tense and restless and replied that she didn't know how to answer. "The first way is the way some of the Indians back home do it, and the second way - well, I couldn't say anything about it. I haven't seen it. I guess that's just the way they (Whites) want it."

She laughed and shrugged in embarrassment at the following questions about how many children she might like to have, replying: "Two, I guess that's all I want. Ten is too many, you couldn't keep track of them. They'd be running all around and they might get into trouble." Since the great majority of Cree students list more than six siblings in their own families, this response has considerable significance. It can be inferred that a distinct preference for a small family indirectly expresses devaluation of the traditional female role and the wish to adopt a non-traditional life style.

In response to the final series of AAI questions referring to how she, her father, and her mother might each make use of $500., C.D. said that: "Some of it would go to my parents, and the rest on myself, like buying clothes. And if I had any left I'd put it in the bank and start saving." She felt that her father would "buy food, I guess, and clothing for the family. Maybe he'd get a boat and a motor, and pay for his bills and supplies (in preparation for the winter in the bush)." She thought her mother would probably buy food, clothing and groceries.

This case is described in some detail not because it is unique, but because it is representative of the majority of those Cree adolescents whose efforts at resolution of identity conflict have resulted in a polarization toward the White middle-class or working-class identity model. In C.D.'s case there is strong evidence of the desire to continue her education, to go on to become a nurse or a secretary, to live in a city, to marry a man either Indian or White who had an education and training equivalent to her own (such as teacher), to have a small family, material comforts and money in the bank. It seems reasonable to speculate that the qualities she ascribes to a 'good chief' might easily be qualities she would look for in a husband: a man who is understanding, who does not drink to excess, who is able to assert himself effectively, who has an education and a fluent command of English. Or, as she succinctly puts it, she wants to "live the White man's way". More specifically perhaps, she aspires to an urban middle-class life style and polarizes strongly toward the White middle-class identity model.

However, her confidence in achieving her aspirations is by no means great. On the one hand she has marked feelings of inadequacy and displays considerable anxiety about her acceptability to Whites, both peers and adults. And on the other hand, she feels that her parents have no sympathy for or understanding of the White oriented aspirations that become increasingly clear as her school career continues.

Her anxiety about being rejected by White peers, but not by Cree peers is evident from the people she lists as good friends, all of whom are Cree girls of her age-group.

Although she denies having difficulty in getting along with White children in her class at school, her feelings of rejection are poignantly expressed when she remarks that, "the first year I went to school there they'd talk to me, but now they don't talk to me at all....". Or when she describes her friendship with her White classmate Janet, she adds, "but when the others come, I get really nervous and shy and can't talk to them." Feelings of inadequacy in social interactions with White adults are apparent in her remarks about feeling very nervous when she goes into town alone; about feeling upset when the dormitory counselors ask her to do something for them, or when they tell her that she has done something wrong. In all of these circumstances, C.D.'s intense wish to be accepted and liked by White adults and peers generates equally intense feelings of inadequacy and fears of rejection and failure.

As polarization of identity toward the White middle-class model continues, the desire for social integration and the concomitant fears of rejection increase. Furthermore, as goals become more clearly defined, fears of failure intensify. Accordingly fears of failure extend from social to educational goals, and C.D. begins to have academic difficulties (to "find school hard") for the first time.

Academic difficulties also reflect the growing conflict with her parents which became sharply intensified during the preceeding summer when her father told C.D. that: "next summer when you come home, youre not going to go back to school". C.D. had been happy to return home for the summer, to see her parents again after the ten-month separation of the school year. The strength of her relationship with both parents can be inferred not only from her stated desire to spend the previous summer with her parents, but, perhaps more significantly, from the degree of anxiety which the conflict with her parents has generated. She attempts to repress the anger toward her father which has been aroused by what she feels is an inexplicable reversal of his previous support for her educational aspirations. "When I started school he liked the idea, but later ... he wanted me to stop ... I guess he changed his mind, because when I was younger he said that I could finish school."

The desire to replenish strained affective ties with her parents is apparent from her remark that if she had $500 she would want to share it with her parents. It also indicates the continuing strength of internalized traditional values of supporting parents and contributing to the well-being of the kin group. The wish to take her parents' attitudes into account, and the feelings of guilt provoked by the conflict with them over education is brought into focus by C.D.'s response to the AAI question about the relative value of formal education in comparison with traditional enculturation; "I think... I don't know, it's hard (to decide)....I'd choose the first one (prolonged schooling). The second one is how I think my parents see it."

The emergence of increasingly open conflict with her parents not only provokes hostile impulses toward them, but equally gives rise to fears of retaliation by her parents. These fears of parental retaliation find expression in C.D.'s wish to deny the likelihood of her mother's strong disapproval if she were to marry a White. "My mother said that if I married an Indian I wouldn't be able to make him moccasins and things, but she didn't say for the White." She goes on: "I guess she wouldn't mind if I married an Indian who didn't have a band number." That is, by marrying a man who was neither White nor Indian C.D. could satisfy her wish to marry a White without provoking parental censure.

In reaction to the reduction in the emotional security she had derived in the past from a close relationship with her parents, and to their diminished importance as models for identification, C.D. attempts to draw emotional support from the Indian counselor in whom she increasingly confides. This counselor encourages her to continue her education and begins to serve as a substitute model for identification more consistent with this student's White middle-class polarization of identity. Her friend Janet and her family provide additional important models for identification.

Identity conflict in this case is intense. The

'Traditional' identity model retains considerable strength and this girl is decidedly anxious about the sharpening disagreement with her parents over her educational goals and their broader implications with respect to life style. She wishes to retain close affective ties with her parents and kin, to contribute to their well-being and avoid open confrontation with them. However she does not want the way of life represented by her mother: cooking, washing clothes, caring for a large family and helping on the trapline. She does not want to marry a traditional Cree, but rather a person who has a good education and the ability to adapt to, if not integrate with, the dominant White culture. She places great value on completing her education and taking further training as a nurse or secretary, then living in an urban setting. She attempts to resolve her conflict through polarization toward the White middle-class identity model represented by her teachers, counselor and a White friend. But this leads to further anxiety based on feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure in achieving her White oriented aspirations. Thus, while the direction of attempts to resolve identity conflict can be clearly discerned, it is also evident that these attempts have by no means produced a successful resolution of the conflict as yet.

Case Three

A question of central importance in the present study is whether, and to what degree, an individual Cree student can resolve identity conflict by an effective synthesis of the two major identity models. And if this kind of effective synthesis can indeed be achieved, will these students be likely to serve, in turn, as identity models for younger adolescents, particularly younger siblings, experiencing identity conflict?

The two following case presentations focus on these points. The subjects are brothers, aged 19 and 14, whose father has a respected role within the religious life of the community as well as being considered one of the most able hunters of the band. Neither of the parents has had any formal education.

E.F. is the eldest of six siblings. He began his education at age 7, and is presently in his senior year at high school. He has attended his present school for four years. He likes the town where he attends school; "mainly the city life, the variety of things, like the movies and restaurants. There are a lot of recreation facilities available. But you miss the life at home too, which is completely different; fishing and hunting, And there's more freedom at home. When I'm at school I usually dream about home; being with the family or fishing. Then when I'm at home I usually dream about school."

E.F. has been living with a (White) family in the town since he started high school four years ago. He prefers this type of living arrangement to the residential school he had known earlier because "we have more privileges living with a family." His only complaint about the present arrangement is the food, but he feels that it is, nonetheless, superior to the residential school.

Asked if he finds it hard to talk with the family he is staying with, he said; "No, not really. I talk to Dorothy; that's the housewife. Mr. R. is away at work so I don't have a chance to talk with him often. I usually talk with her about problems concerning work at school. Sometimes I tell her about troubles concerning myself, like health or future plans, or life at home, or what comes after high school; what I'd like to be, where I'd like to go." He has been living with the R. family for one year. Before that he stayed three years with another couple. "I got along fine with them too, I d talk to them about life at home, but I'd never talk about my future plans with them. Well, in a way they didn't have much schooling. They were simple folks. I moved to the R's because (at the other place) you had to walk over a mile to the bus stop from their house. And also a friend of mine (from home) lives with the R's; he coaxed me to move in with them."

E.F. remarked that he had no difficulty making friends. His best friend, he said, is the other Cree student living with the R's. Among five close friends he listed, two are Cree students from his region, two are White classmates, and the other is a Cree student from another region. Asked about how he got along with White students, he gave the following unusually forceful reply: "Well, for one thing, first of all I'd like to say that I usually lead the class at school, so they respect me. Sometimes they ask to borrow my homework." He denied that perhaps his White classmates would not respect him if he did not lead the class. He felt that they were genuinely friendly to him. This feeling was corroborated at several other points in the interview.

However, there is some indication of a lingering anxiety in his interactions with White adults. He feels nervous with unfamiliar White adults, but not with Indians. "Well, they're grown up, they're more mature than I am. Around here they feel the younger generation is different. They'd say; 'When I was young you couldn't do that.'" Referring to his contacts with Whites during summers at the reserve, he remarked that; "American tourists can make it uncomfortable. They act as if they've never seen the Indians before. They take pictures here and there and ask questions like 'where's the tomahawk' and all that."

E.F. states clearly that he wants to continue his education. "I'd like to get an engineering degree. I've decided on engineering, but I haven't exactly decided on whether it will be electrical or mining." He expected that when he had completed his education he would work as an engineer. "I realize I'm not really fit for things you have to do with your hands. I do things better with my mind, working out problems, like making plans for the shaft of a mine so that the minerals can be extracted from the ground the cheapest way possible." At another point in the interview he thought that in ten years time he would like to work as a mining engineer, but felt that there was a strong possibility he would in fact be employed in prospecting and surveying. "I'd like to do that because a lot of the trappers find minerals but never get them analyzed."

He thought that he would ultimately like to live in a city; "not a very large one, a medium-sized city, like this one. A big city is just too much of everything; like noise, always a rush. You can never take your time in a big city." Later in the interview he said that he would prefer to live in a mining town. "An ideal city would be not very large, not far from the bush and not located in densely populated areas; well, like _____ (a mining town near the reserve). He had in fact worked for a mining company in a town near the reserve during the past two summers. "I did electrical work. I liked it, but I felt really nervous when I was interviewed for the job. But the manager - he's very understanding. He's very much for integration of the Indians, so he does what he can to get the Indians into the cities." He thought it was very likely that in ten years time he would be living in a town like that. "I'll probably be in a town up north, near (the reserve), but I'll be working, not trapping."

With some hesitation and a clear lack of enthusiasm, E.F. answered affirmatively when asked if he had been happy to return home last summer. "I liked being with the family and seeing friends; getting back to a generally Indian life and getting away from the city. It's quiet up there. But there's no recreation facilities, no (movie) theatres. Sometimes I feel it's too remote up there, away from any large town. And there's very little communications - transportation facilities are poor. I was glad to come back to school and get back to the city life again. You miss home I guess, at least for a while, but it's another step toward my life."

Turning once again to the subject of school, E.F. pointed out that academic requirements were not an obstacle for him, but he did sometimes feel nervous answering questions in class. "It depends on the subject. If it's math or physics I can answer with no difficulty, but if it's English or poetry I may have the answer but I can't find the words to explain it. English is not my native language and I can't get the hang of poetry."

Describing his father's attitude toward his plans for finishing school and becoming an engineer, E.F. said; "Well, when I started school, from Grade one to Grade six he didn't like it. He wanted to get me out. But he couldn't get me out because the Indian agent wouldn't let me go. Then after I came here he had nothing to say about it; he'd leave it up to me. I think he's beginning to see the value of it now though. He usually says (now); 'You should have very little trouble getting a job in the mine.' And to him, another language beside the Cree is a valuable asset. If he spoke English or French he says he would want to get skilled training."

Speaking about his father's occupation, E.F. noted that; "in the winter he traps, and in the summer he cuts pulp. My younger brother goes with my father on the trap-line and also helps him cut pulp. He usually interprets for my father too. I'm kind of rusty myself in Cree language, so I can't interpret very much for my father." E.F. feels that; "There's no future in trapping and cutting pulp. I really wouldn't like to trap; it's a dying art. I cut pulp with my father once and I didn't like it. It's hard work; a lot of flies. And we (Indians) usually get the poor woods (i.e. - "bad bush"

(La Rusic, 1968a)) to cut anyway, so you can't make much money."

E.F. feels that his mother is opposed to his educational and occupational aspirations. "I think she's against it. She thinks I should be out on the trap line helping my dad. She thinks it's because he had to trap all by himself that my dad almost drowned when he fell through the ice. She feels that one of us should be out there with him.[22] My father is not a healthy person. He's been in hospital quite a few times. My mother and my aunt had it (the same infective type of illness) too. So it's out of a concern for my father that my mother feels I should help him out. It upsets me when they say, especially my mother, that I'm doing the wrong thing going to school. After thirteen years at school they feel I should have got something by now - like electrician - and they're surprised that I haven't taken a trade (course) yet."

He continued that he often thinks about his family and feels very unhappy about his inability to make his parents understand why he doesn't want to stop school. But he feels more acutely unhappy and ill-at-ease when he is at home. He worries about his future. "If I don't get my education completed I feel it's going to turn out badly. I don't know the first thing about trapping, so what can I do?"

His responses to the series of questions contrasting traditional and 'modern' value orientations were thoughtfully considered and highly revealing. He thinks it is better for children to stay in school because; "you'll have a more solid future the longer you stay in school, and when you've completed your education you can get better jobs." He feels that most Indians would be willing to stop trapping if they could get jobs. "Talking with the Indian people that's what they all say over the past ten years because the beaver prices are dropping. But the older people feel that they're too old to be accepted into any industrial work."

He did not feel that the government should provide the Indians with new reserves. "The government should give each man some land. On a reserve the Indian people would be shut off from the outside world. The Indians have to rely on the outside world to make a living, so it's better that they go on (and integrate)."

In E.F.'s opinion, the characteristics of a good chief are; "an understanding of the Indian people, their desires, their goals. He should be a man of action, not a person who would just say he would do things. And - I guess - a man who could get along with the Indian Affairs Department." Such a man would, he insisted, have to be able to speak good English, or else French.

E.F. feels that the choice of a marriage partner should be a matter for the individual to decide. "I've been influenced by the modern society. But it's fascinating that there's no divorce at (home). The system (of arranged marriages) seems to work okay." In his own case he has not been going out with any particular girl and has not contemplated marriage. He wants to finish his education first. He thought that he might eventually want to marry an Indian girl; "well, to preserve the Indian culture - talk Cree. And so I can have Indian food I guess." He thought that his parents would "definitely agree (with his choice). They themselves said I should marry an Indian."

The wish for solidarity with his parents appears again in his remarks on how he and his parents would make use of $500. In his own case he immediately stated that he would make improvements to the family's house. A distinctly second choice was to buy a car. He thought that his father would buy a car; "he's been talking about it for a long time." As for his mother, it seems likely that he projects his own wishes onto her; "she'd probably travel. She always wanted to get out of (the reserve) and see what the outside world is like. She always talks about wanting to see Montreal and Ontario."

In summary, while identity conflict continues to be recognizable in this case, there is strong evidence of successful resolution of that conflict through synthesis of identity models. E.F. takes great pride in his high academic performance and in the respect he is accorded by his peers and classmates. As he puts it: "...I usually lead the class at school, so they respect me. Sometimes they'd like to borrow my homework." The respect of peers and classmates nourishes his self-esteem. It provides important validation of his ego-ideal of becoming a professional engineer. Situations in which his intellectual facility is jeopardized are anxiety-provoking; such as poetry classes. "I may have the answer but I can't find the words to explain it." It would seem to be largely as a consequence of his high academic achievement then that E.F.'s self-esteem has been strengthened and he is able to relate with White peers without experiencing feelings of inadequacy and fears of rejection. Furthermore the goals he has set for himself - to be a mining engineer, living in a northern mining town or small city "not far from the bush" - are fully consistent with his potential to achieve them.

On the basis that a young man's ego-ideal finds expression in the qualities he ascribes to a good leader, E.F.'s criteria of a good chief accurately reflect his high valuation of decisive action based on advanced knowledge. A good chief would be fluent in English or French, would understand the Indians' desires and goals, would be "a man of action, not just say he would do things." And equally important, he "could get along" with White authority. This last quality would require that cordial Indian-White relations could be maintained, but in addition, would require the chief to assert himself vis-a-vis White authority figures if the circumstances required this type of action.

In view of the high valuation he attaches to education it seems reasonable to assume that teachers and dormitory counselors have played and continue to play an important role in his life as models for identification: probably the first significant models of White middle-class life-style. More recently, White 'foster parents,' the mine manager and mining engineers have become additional models for identification. E.F.'s relationship with the woman where he is living is sufficiently close that he is able to confide in her and feels that she understands his problems.

At the same time he has maintained close affective bonds with his parents. He is deeply troubled by his mother's incomprehension of his educational and occupational aspirations, and tries to repress the resentment aroused by her repeated attempts to pressure him into abandoning his education in order to help his father in the bush. He is particularly hurt and angered by his mother's implication that his father nearly drowned because E.F. refused to help him on the trap-line. She has criticized him for his failure to contribute to the family's well-being in that he not only refuses to help his father on the trap-line but he also does not take up wage employment. "It upsets me especially that my mother says I'm doing the wrong thing going to school. Sometimes I feel I should be out with my dad (on the trap-line) because he's not a very healthy person."

Feelings of remorse and guilt have been generated in E.F. by his mother's criticism of his behaviour, and these feelings have been intensified by his realization that his father has been seriously ill, could require hospitalization again at any time, and might die before such time that E.F. will be in a position to contribute significantly to the material support of his family. In this respect he derives great reassurance from his father's recent support of his plans. "He'd leave it up to me. I think he's beginning to see a value of it (continuing his education). He usually says that: 'you should have very little trouble getting a job in the mine...' If he spoke English or French he says he would want to get skilled training (himself)."

The retention of strong affective ties with his parents, of the desire to live in a town near the reserve, to satisfy his parents' wishes that he marry an Indian girl and maintain his Cree language skills, his wish to contribute to the family well-being (to make improvements to their house for example); all of these elements suggest that E.F. has by no means abandoned traditional value orientations. His stable self-image, the absence of academic difficulties, the presence of adequate social relationships with White and Indian peers and important adults, the consistency of his goals and their essential compatibility with his potential for achievement, and finally his deep concern for and continuing attachment to his family support the view that this case represents the successful, if not yet conclusive, resolution of identity conflict by synthesis of identity models.

Case Four

E.F.'s fourteen-year old brother is a Grade seven student at a residential school. His academic performance had been adequate in previous years, but had notably diminished during the present school year. There had been some doubt whether G.H. would in fact return to school after the summer with his family.

In response to the question whether he liked being at school, he laughed and said; "Well, sometimes. I like the sports and the activities." But he doesn't like having homework assignments. "They should let you do it in your own time instead of making you go to study hall." He does not feel nervous when the teacher asks him a question in class. His reaction is "to shout out the answer." Sometimes the teacher asks him to repeat what he had said; "but I don't say the thing over again. One time I got in trouble for it, so I just don't answer." He does not have a favorite teacher, nor is he particularly close to one of the dormitory counselors, although he has no difficulty talking with them.

G.H. does not find it hard to make friends, but has no 'best friend' and mentioned only one boy he considers a close friend. "There's some friends I like at certain activities." With respect to his relations with White peers he meets in town, he was rather guarded. "What do you mean, friendship or work? We're always joking with each other for one thing. I guess I get along with them alright. It depends. If they have the same interests I make friends much better, like in sports."

Asked if he had trouble with his schoolwork, G.H. replied, "it depends on the subjects. Some subjects are easy, but some of them are hard. Arithmetic and French are the hardest ones." Nonetheless, his academic achievement record has been high and he feels that he would like to finish school. "I think I'd like to go to (technical) college or university. I'd like to try for an air piloting course. But sometimes, I get lazy and say I'm going to quit next year. It depends on how I feel each day. Sometimes I think about finishing Grade nine and then getting a job or going to a trade school."

He was vague and defensive about his father's attitude toward his education, saying that he really didn't know what his father thought about it. His father sometimes spoke about school, but G.H. "couldn't really remember" what his father had said. Asked if his father was generally in favor or opposed to him staying in school, G.H. answered; "well, he's in between sort of. He didn't mind me coming to school as long as I got a good education for my life. He wants us to know something, but he doesn't say much (about school) usually. You know how my father's always getting sick though. That's why they (parents) took my brother (out of school) to go (trapping) with him. You never know when he might be getting sick again. My brother wanted to help out with the family and help my father out too." He was much more direct about his mother's attitude. "She's against the whole thing. She says if you keep going to school you can't earn anything. She says that some boys my age go trapping and they at least earn something."

Referring again to his future, G.H. repeated his wish to become a bush pilot, but added that he also thought of becoming a mining engineer. As to where he would like to live when he has finished his education, he felt that; "it's hard to say. It depends where the company is I'm working for." He remarked that his older brother had "worked in the mines last summer" and that he would like to do that type of work himself. The kind of work his father does as a trapper and pulp cutter also appealed to him. "But those guys from the government come and they keep saying they are going to close the trap-lines in a few years time."

He was happy to return home for the summer; "to see my little sister for one thing, and my parents and relatives." However, he was not enthusiastic about returning to school at the end of the summer. "In some ways I didn't want to come back, when you know you're not going to see your parents for the next ten months. It seems so far away from my parents. Sometimes I like it but I wish I wasn't here."

He sometimes worries about his future. "You know what they (people on the reserve) say about the hunting; that it will close down and we should try to make as much money (hunting/trapping) now as possible." He mentioned this in relation to his concern about whether he should stop school to help his father in the bush. This concern is clearly expressed in his response to the value orientation question relating to formal education and traditional enculturation. "It's really hard to choose. It depends on how your family is. If your father dies and you're old enough to work you have to help your family out as much as possible...But if your father's okay then I think you should continue your education." This theme recurs in relation to where he would like to live and what he would do in ten years time. "I'd like to live close to my family and help them all I could." He would not speculate though about what he expected his life would in fact be like in ten years time.

The high value he places on contributing to the well-being of his family in preference to his own personal achievement finds expression in his description of a good chief as: "a man who does good turns to his people and helps them every way he can." At the same time he feels that a good chief needs to be boldly assertive. "Maybe he should be a guy with a big mouth." This may be an indication of his own wish to assert himself with his parents - to pursue his goals of completing his education and becoming a bush pilot or mining engineer.

He feels that the present chief has a good life because; "well, for one thing, he has a good steady job. And he tries to entertain all the people, like with movies, and he organizes dances for the teenagers." This traditionally oriented high valuation of personal generosity is manifest in G.H.'s comment that he would use $500 "to entertain my friends, to treat my friends. And I'd buy presents for my family." In this particular case his wish to be generous to his friends may equally reflect some anxiety about his acceptance by peers, inasmuch as he named only one person as a close friend. Anxiety in social interactions and fears of rejection may also underlie his statement that; "I don't think I'll ever marry. I want to be a bachelor. At least I'll try to be. But my friends are older than me and they keep telling me 'you're going to change your mind'." Anxiety about the potential dangers of intimate interpersonal relations may be seen in his contention that; "young people should pick their own wife because maybe that would prevent quarrels between the wives and husbands."

Ambivalent feelings about the White life-style emerge at several points in the interview. To begin with, he notes that he feels tense in the presence of unfamiliar White adults. He has neither a favorite teacher nor a favorite counselor. Relationships with White students are limited to institutional contacts, such as participation in a hockey league. In relation to the relative merits of the government providing the Indians with a new reserve as compared with individual land holdings, G.H. thinks that; "it's better for them to stick together, to have a reserve together so they can defend themselves if someone (non-Indian) wants to take their land."

The sense of emotional security he derives from family and community attachments may be discerned in his remarks about the relative merits of trapping in comparison with wage employment. "Most of the Indians are (working) building houses now. They stopped trapping because they were getting good pay. But most of them are willing to go trapping again." His comments on the value of the drum in hunting, which he has observed his father use, bear out the same respect for tradition, albeit a somewhat ambivalent respect; "I just don't understand it. It's really hard. Like a witchdoctor; it seems impossible to do the things, but somehow he does them. It's the same with the drum."

This interview, like the one with his older brother, ended with the student asking a number of questions about the relative merits and admission requirements of various universities and technical colleges in Ontario and Quebec.

Reviewing G.H.'s case in comparison with that of his older brother, E.F., several issues may be brought more clearly into focus: (1) the importance of E.F. as an identity model for his younger brother; (2) G.H.'s more elemental and unresolved identity conflict; and (3) G.H.'s early efforts to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of identity models.

Like his older brother, G.H. alludes to his desire to complete his education at several points in the interview. He would like to go to university to become a mining engineer; or at least to complete a technical training as a bush pilot, an occupation which he conceives of as being equivalent to an engineer. He would like to work for a mining company as his brother had done during summer vacations. His brother's orientation toward living in a small northern (mining) town not far from the reserve or his family is also characteristic of G.H., who would like to live "close to my family." Nonetheless, both brothers feel that their residential choice would be largely determined by the location of good job opportunities.

His marked ambivalence about educational goals derives not so much from feelings of academic inadequacy or fears of social rejection as it does from the competing desire to help his father in the bush and contribute to the material support of his family in view of the likelihood that his father might require re-hospitalization at any time. "It depends on how your family is. If your father dies and you're old enough to work you have to help your family out as much as possible. But if your father is okay I think you should continue your education."

G.H. has experienced far less contact with both White peers and White adults than has his older brother. His anxiety in interactions with Whites is correspondingly more notable. Inasmuch as G.H. does not regard any teacher or counselor as a favorite, and has not lived with a White family, it must be assumed that the White middle class identity model is at present emotionally less meaningful than the 'Traditional' identity model represented by his father. In G.H.'s case, the degree of cognitive disparity between the two identity models is diminished by virtue of his older brother serving as a major model for identification and more particularly as a model of identity synthesis.

Furthermore, the intrafamilial conflict over the value of formal education is modified to the extent that G.H. feels that his father is not opposed to his sons' educational goals. "He's in between. He didn't mind me coming to school as long as I got a good education for my life."

On the other hand, his mother is much less tolerant of G.H.'s wish to complete his education and pattern his lifestyle on that of his older brother. She arouses his feelings of guilt about abandoning his family and their welfare by his pursuit of personal goals. These feelings of guilt are intensified by the mother's insistence that G.H.'s father is in a precarious state of health, and that the accident which occurred in the bush and nearly caused the father's death by drowning could have been easily avoided had one of his sons been with him.

At several points in the interview G.H. contends that trapping is not likely to persist as a viable occupation for more than a few more years and should accordingly be fully exploited while it lasts. This view is supported by both parents. Its impact on G.H. is considerable, further sharpening the conflict between his wishes to continue his education on the one hand and his feelings of obligation toward his family on the other. His remarks about 'the good life' reflect G.H.'s attempts to resolve this conflict by integrating 'modern' and 'traditional' values. He feels that the chief has a good life because "he has a good job for one thing and he tries to entertain all the people." But he selects one more important quality in a good chief, that he be "a guy with a big mouth." That is a good chief, being a reflection of his own ego ideal, would not hesitate to assert his own views, or in G.H.'s case, to allow himself to express his resentment toward his parents for explicitly and implicitly opposing his aspirations. The guilt, and the wish to avoid retaliation generated by the impulses to assert himself with respect to his parents are reflected in his remark that if he had $500 he would use it to buy presents for his family.

In this case, there is ample evidence of strong affective ties with his parents at present and in the past. This is balanced by an older brother encouraging his educational and occupational aspirations at the same time as he serves as a model for identification incorporating White middle class life-style and value orientations without abandoning fundamental family ties. This combination of factors contributes to efforts to resolve identity conflict by a synthesis of identity models, a process in its early stages of development in the present case.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

A common feature of the four cases we have described, and one which has an important bearing on the nature and extent of identity conflict experienced by the students, is their conviction that their parents disapprove of formal education. However, the degree of opposition varies between parents and under different intrafamilial circumstances, such as the student's rank in the sibling order and the state of his parents' health. A.B., for instance, feels that both of his parents are firmly opposed to his remaining in school. C.D. is particularly upset by her father's insistence that she abandon her education, since she considers that this is a reversal of his earlier approval of her wish to attend school. In E.F.'s case, he feels that his father's initial strong disapproval of education has become modified during the course of E.F.'s school career to the point that he thinks his father now would like to take a job training course himself. G.H. is convinced that his father was never opposed to his education. Both brothers agree, though, that their mother has never wanted them to remain at school for more than a few years.

Combining these findings on students' perceptions of parental attitudes toward education with information obtained from interviews with parents and other Cree adults, a theoretical model can be constructed to account for modifications in adult Cree attitudes toward education under the impact of acculturative changes, ranging from strong 'opposition' through a stage of 'ambivalence' to that of 'selective valuation' of the student. A fourth stage, that of 'projective identification' with the student, could conceivably occur in the future. Each of these stages roughly corresponds to the student's academic achievement level (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Parental attitudes toward education and their relation to academic achievement: a theoretical model applied to the Waswanipi and Mistassini Cree.

stage of adult valuation of student	academic achievement level of student
opposition	limited language skills
ambivalence	advanced language skills
selective valuation	limited occupational skills
projective identification	advanced occupational skills

The stage of 'opposition'

Contacts between the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree and Euro-Canadians increased significantly in the twentieth century as the Hudson Bay Company expanded its operations in the region, the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions to the Cree became more active, and the Indian Affairs Branch extended its authority and services through the appointment of "Indian agents" to administer the affairs of each band.[24] During the 1930's the first steps were taken to introduce the Euro-Canadian system of formal education. A small number of Mistassini and Waswanipi children were sent to residential schools operated by the Anglican Church at Chapleau, Ontario. Education was imposed on the Cree at that time, since children were arbitrarily selected to be sent to school despite parental opposition. The purpose of formal education was, at best, very inadequately explained to and understood by Cree adults. They resented the fact that their children were separated from them for the duration of their school careers of two, three, or even four years, and were thus prevented from learning the Cree way of life.[25] Expressed in more abstract terms, adult Cree reacted to the introduction of formal education as a threat to the cohesion and continuity of the kin and hunting groups, and therefore a serious impediment to traditional enculturation.

In fact this initial attempt to introduce 'White' schooling was abandoned after three or four years. More concerted and on-going efforts to institute a program of formal education began about 1950 under the auspices of the IAB. Children were sent to the Indian Residential School at Moose Factory, and later to the Shingwauk Indian Residential School at Sault Ste. Marie as well, when it was decided that those students who were prepared to go on to high school should do so in Sault Ste. Marie. However, these more concerted efforts to extend the Euro-Canadian educational system among the Cree, including the recent expansion of facilities for Cree students at Brantford, La Tuque and Mistassini Post, have not by any means resulted in the elimination of parental opposition to education. Indeed, many parents continue to disapprove of their children attending school, as is the case for A.B.'s parents.

The stage of ambivalence

During the 1950's contact between the Cree and Euro-Canadians increased greatly. The development of tourism provided opportunities for Cree men to work as fishing and hunting guides. Lumbering and mineral exploration expanded dramatically in the region and acquired relevance for the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree as some of them were employed for the first time as pulp cutters and prospectors' assistants (see LaRusic, 1968b, for more details). Within the past ten years mining camps have grown into towns. As a consequence of these and other related factors, the range and significance of contacts between the Cree and Euro-Canadian society began to change.

At this stage, which is most characteristic of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree at the present time, the usefulness of knowing how to speak English and French becomes evident. Linguistic skills become important in enabling the members of the band, individually and collectively, to communicate more effectively with those representatives of the dominant industrial society, such as government officials, potential employers, storekeepers and others with whom there is increasing frequency and depth of contact. An awareness develops that at least some members of the band need to be competent to act as "cultural brokers" (Geertz, 1963; Paine, 1967) in contacts between the Cree and White society. This makes it unnecessary for most adults of the interacting cultures to develop the kind of close contact which is anxiety-provoking to both.

The recognition of this new cultural need has had a direct bearing on adult Cree attitudes toward education. 'Opposition' has begun to shade into 'ambivalence' as parents have become sensitive to their own lack of language skills and want their children to attend school so that they will learn English (or in a few cases French). Students skilled in speaking and writing English (or French) become valued as cultural brokers. But to the extent that the student's role as cultural broker arouses feelings of inadequacy and resentment in those adults who become dependent on him, intergenerational conflict is exacerbated and parental ambivalence toward the student and toward formal education is intensified. Accordingly, the feeling predominates that children should attend school for two, three, or four years, but that once they have learned to speak adequate English or French they should stop school and return home in sufficient time to learn traditional adult roles. This situation is typically illustrated in the case of C.D. At this stage parents remain opposed to prolonged education. They strongly urge, and in many cases insist, that their children discontinue their schooling and participate fully in the traditional religious and economic life of the band.

The stage of 'selective valuation'

The stage of 'selective valuation' of the student is just beginning to have relevance for the Cree. Some students, such as E.F. for example, have achieved a sufficient degree of linguistic and technical skills that they can function as skilled or semi-skilled workers: as heavy equipment operators or miners, as draughtsmen, carpenters, or electricians. Female students are able to fill jobs as office or store clerks, secretaries or nursing assistants.

At this point geographic mobility has often occurred, with a shift toward, or at least adaptation to, an urban life style. That is, as more adult Cree become involved in wage employment, a growing number of families come to live for a greater proportion of each year in encampments adjacent to but separate from lumber camps and mining towns in the region. In some cases, such as at Chapais and Matagami, these encampments become semi-permanent or even permanent settlements. Some young adults who are relatively fluent in English or French and familiar with the Euro-Canadian life style move into the towns and rent apartments.

When this stage is reached Cree adults begin to recognize the practical economic advantages of education and urge their children to go to school, not simply to learn

English or French, but to continue their education to the point that they will be able "to get a good job" when they stop school. Some adults may wish to take job training courses themselves, as in the case of E.F.'s father.

At this stage, Cree parents become sensitive to the fact that high school students sometimes obtain summer employment at higher wages than they themselves are able to earn. Accordingly, they expect the student to contribute substantially to the support of the family and exert pressure on him to discontinue his education and begin full time work.

Furthermore, a wide range of expectations may be focussed on the student by adults whose understanding of the operations of governmental, economic and other institutions of the 'White' world is very imprecise. As a result, they conceptualize the older high school student or young adult living in town as someone whose level of interaction and integration with the dominant culture is such that he can arrange employment, job training, social welfare, medical and other services for whichever members of the family call on him for assistance. Motivated by feelings of responsibility toward the kin group and by the wish to be cooperative and generous to them, the student feels obliged to comply with family expectations. The anxiety experienced by the student may become very intense as his wish to continue his education increasingly conflicts with his wish to be generous and helpful to his family and with their mounting demands that he undertake full time employment.

The stage of 'projective identification'

The final stage of attitudinal change is represented by 'projective identification.' At this stage the student will have achieved a level of education that prepares him for managerial or professional status, and the full potential for successful integration in or adaptation to the urban industrial society. At the same time, continuing acculturative contact will have encouraged a shift in values among Cree adults, such that their social status as well as their emotional gratification will be measured to an important degree by their children's accomplishments.

This pattern has not become identifiable in any meaningful sense among the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree, since there are at present only three Cree university students and less than ten enrolled in technical colleges. This stage could conceivably occur in the future though, as more Mistassini and Waswanipi youth complete their high school careers and go on to obtain degrees from universities and technical colleges.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary aims of this report have been to describe the enculturative discontinuities experienced by Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree adolescents as a consequence of formal education in an urban setting; to outline the relationship between these enculturative discontinuities and the nature of identity conflict prevalent among Cree students; to formulate hypotheses concerning the direction of students' attempts to resolve identity conflict through polarization toward the 'White' identity model, toward the 'Traditional' model, or toward a synthesis of the two identity models; and to demonstrate by means of case studies the nature of identity conflict among these students, and their attempts to resolve it through the synthesis of identity models. A secondary aim has been to give some indication of the relationship between identity conflict among adolescents and the change in adult Cree attitudes toward formal education under conditions of increasing contact with the dominant Euro-Canadian culture.

In keeping with these aims we have presented a global qualitative analysis incorporating the initial findings of our research. Any detailed discussion of our findings must await a more comprehensive analysis of the 109 AAI student protocols, the 34 non-student AAI's, and the related ethnographic and clinical data. Nevertheless, certain tentative conclusions do emerge from our review of data on the 109 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents attending school in 1967-68. These conclusions are as follows:

1. Marked enculturative discontinuities result from the dual socialization which Cree children experience as they alternate between the traditional milieu and the urban school milieu.
2. These enculturative discontinuities are the major factor in the development of identity conflict during adolescence, because those individuals who serve as important models for identification in the two milieux embody contrasting values, aspirations and behavioural norms.
3. Identity conflict can be readily demonstrated using the AAI as the principal instrument of investigation, and is clearly evident in 42% of student protocols.
4. Educational aspirations represent a major focus of intergenerational conflict between students and their parents.
5. The degree of the students' emotional investment in achieving these aspirations determines the direction of polarization of their largely unconscious attempts to resolve identity conflict. Those students having a high degree of emotional investment in educational aspirations polarize

toward the 'White' model or toward a synthesis of the 'White' and 'Traditional' models, while those with a low emotional commitment to education polarize toward the 'Traditional' identity model.

6. More than one-third of all students interviewed attempt to resolve identity conflict predominantly through a synthesis of the 'White' and the 'Traditional' identity models.

7. Attempts at synthesis of identity models are highly characteristic of high school students but not of elementary students.

8. Successful resolution of identity conflict through synthesis of identity models requires that positive affective ties with parents be maintained, that emotionally meaningful supportive relationships with White parent surrogates be established, and that the individual's self-esteem be maintained vis-a-vis both White and Indian peers.

PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS

The essential practical problem which emerges from our research is how to diminish the intensity of the identity conflict which is so prevalent among adolescent Cree students. To achieve this objective it is necessary first to reduce the degree of enculturative discontinuity experienced by these students as a consequence of alternating in their socialization between the traditional milieu and the urban school setting. Second, it is important to create conditions which promote the resolution of identity conflict through synthesis of the 'White' and 'Traditional' identity models.

In order to resolve successfully identity conflict through synthesis of identity models students must be able to maintain close affective ties with their adult kin at the same time as they establish positive relationships with significant White adults and peers. To accomplish this, intergenerational conflict must be reduced. Students must retain a sufficient emotional attachment to the traditional values and way of life that their acquisition of formal education will not be accompanied by devaluation and rejection of their parents and the Cree cultural heritage. Students also must maintain their ability to speak the Cree language.

The school curricula employed in educating Cree children must be designed to validate their self-image and strengthen their self-esteem as Cree and as Indians, while at the same time enabling them to acquire the linguistic, behavioral, and technical skills they must have to realize their aspirations and exploit the growing range of occupational opportunities in the North. If they learn skills which are relevant in the northern economic context this will enable them not only to adapt successfully to the economic conditions in the region but also will enable them to maintain close ties with their families and participate in the life of the band. Attempts to bridge the gap between the generations must involve parents as well as students. Parents need to develop a clearer understanding of the 'White' world, particularly the aims and methods of formal education. Furthermore they need to play a major role in planning their children's education.

If the educational system is oriented to Cree culture as well as to Euro-Canadian culture parents will not perceive formal education as the White man's attempt to alienate their children from them and from the Cree way of life and to wean them away from the North. At present parents feel powerless to prevent their children from being 'taken away from them.' These feelings of powerlessness often lead to a generalized suspicion of, if not hostility toward, the government and the Euro-Canadian system of formal education.

To reduce discontinuities in the enculturation of Cree children, to sustain positive affective ties with parents, to maintain students' self-esteem, and to strengthen a Cree self-image, we recommend that:

1. Combined residential school - day school facilities be located in Cree settlements, with cottage type residences and Cree 'foster parents' for those children whose parents are in the bush or away working in seasonal kinds of employment. These facilities would comprise classes for beginners through Grade five and would replace the residential schools which children attend now for these grades.

2. The school year be modified so that those children who want to go trapping with their families could spend some time in the bush each year; for example, by having the major vacation period during the winter instead of during the summer.

3. A monolingual Cree curriculum be introduced for beginners to Grade three, with a transition to a bilingual English-Cree or French-Cree curriculum (according to parental choice) during Grades four and five. Some subjects, such as Cree history, written and spoken Cree, religion (Christian and traditional), and civics should continue to be taught in Cree through Grade twelve.

4. Cree youths or adults be recruited to teach in the schools in the region. Those having a Grade ten education or beyond could be given teacher training in both the regular and Cree-oriented subjects, while those with limited or no formal

education could teach those Cree subjects noted in recommendation three.

5. Non-Cree school personnel be given some training in spoken and written Cree, Cree history and culture, and in northern living skills (for example, how to snowshoe). These training programs should be held in the North, should involve as many Cree as possible as teachers and resource personnel, and should be a prerequisite for employment in schools serving Cree students.

6. Curricula presently in use in the towns of the Mistassini-Waswanipi region be modified in order to reflect the multi-cultural character of the region. For example, Cree studies and the history of interethnic contacts in the area should be required for all students.

To encourage formation of positive relationships with Whites, to provide the skills necessary to realize economic and social goals, to acquire familiarity with the "White urban world" and its institutions, and, ultimately, to promote synthesis of the two major identity models, we recommend that:

7. Cree students attend community schools in towns of the Mistassini-Waswanipi region, rather than Indian residential schools, for Grades six through twelve.

8. Cottage type residences in these towns be provided for

Cree students in Grades six to eight, with both Cree and White 'foster parents.' Parents should be encouraged to exchange visits with their children and one 'visitors room' should be included in each student residence to provide overnight accomodations for visiting family members.

9. Cree students in Grades nine to twelve be encouraged to live with Indian, English, or French 'foster families' in the towns where they attend community schools.

10. A bilingual English-Cree or French-Cree curriculum be introduced for Grades four through twelve. Subjects such as those noted in recommendation three should be taught in Cree and all other subjects should be taught in either English or French.

11. Curricula presently utilized in northern schools, whether in Indian settlements or in towns, be modified in order to prepare students both for the economic opportunities in the North and for university or further technical training.

12. Community centers be established which could function as libraries, study facilities for students, and locations for adult education courses.

To increase parents' understanding of the purposes of formal education and diminish their suspicion of it, to overcome their feelings of powerlessness with respect to decisions about their children's education, and, ultimately, to reduce intergenerational conflict over education, we recommend that:

13. Legislation and policy changes be effected enabling Indian parents to operate their own local school districts and to be fully participating members of school boards in the towns where their children attend community schools under the jurisdiction of local school boards.

14. Adult education courses be established to give parents an understanding of academic work and its usefulness. Appropriate subjects for these courses include French, English, technical skills (job training) and the explanation and interpretation of government policies and legislation which affect Indians in general and Cree in particular.

In formulating these preliminary recommendations we anticipate that consultation with the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree will result in certain modifications or revisions. We feel that this participation in decision-making is an essential prerequisite to working toward the implementation of recommendations concerning the education of Cree children.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. The generalized term 'White' as used by the Cree involves a wide range of associations. For the present purpose the term 'White identity model' refers to both middle-class and working-class Euro-Canadians, the former applying more particularly for Cree girls and the latter for Cree boys. A further division of middle-class and working-class identity models along the lines of French versus English Canadian would also be relevant, but is not essential for the clarification of our central theme.

Methodology

2. Most members of the Mistassini band usually live in the vicinity of Mistassini Post and Doré Lake when they are not in the bush. Most members of the Waswanipi band usually live in the vicinity of Chapais, Miquelon, Waswanipi River and Matagami when they are not in the bush. For a description of these communities see Roger Pothier's "Community complexity and Indian isolation" (1968a). It should be noted that Cree families are highly mobile during the summer as they exploit different economic opportunities in the region, such as fishing, guiding, pulp cutting, (see La Rusic 1968a and 1968b for a discussion of this mobility).

3. One female student refused to be interviewed.

Traditional enculturation and the impact of formal education

4. These residential schools are operated by the churches (in this case the Anglican Church) under contracts with the Indian Affairs Branch. In recent years the role of the Church has narrowed considerably, to the extent that at the present, the Church is only responsible for administering the living arrangements of the students and has no direct role in their academic programme. The IAB is directly responsible for all curriculum planning and for obtaining and supervising teachers.

5. Death from starvation is unlikely now because all hunting groups take some "store food" into the bush with them. However, it is still possible, for instance if supplies are lost or ruined. Thus, fears of starvation remain profound and widespread.

6. It is quite likely that children growing up now are doing more household tasks and learning to do them at an earlier age because so many of the older children are away at school, which seriously diminishes the labour pool available in the hunting group. See La Rusic, 1968a for a note on the impact of school attendance on hunting group recruitment and labour resources.

7. Such behaviour is tolerated although still disapproved, when the individual is intoxicated, in which case he is not considered responsible for his actions.

8. This varies to a degree from place to place within the region. For example those Mistassini chidren whose parents now live in close proximity to White towns as for example, Doré Lake (eight miles from Chibougamau) or those Waswanipi children whose families live in or near the towns of Chapais, Miquelon and Matagami have more exposure to Euro-Canadians and their sociocultural system. For the Waswanipi this phenomenon has accelerated since the closure of the Hudson's Bay Post at Waswanipi Lake in 1964.

9. We hypothesize that this development will have increasing effects upon the process of enculturation as these acculturated students return home and serve as non-traditional models for identification and emulation. These individuals are also playing an increasingly important role in the life of the community as is illustrated by their participation in the Mistassini Band Council.

10. Data for this section are drawn for the most part from fieldwork in the La Tuque School, supplemented by material collected at Brantford.

11. Only in the last three years has French language education been introduced. Waswanipi students in Grades one to three have received all of their education in French but virtually all other Mistassini and Waswanipi students have been entirely educated in English.

12. IAB regulations allow one dormitory staff member per twenty-five children, but because this ruling does not allow for time off, at La Tuque each staff member in practice normally was responsible for thirty to forty children.

Identity conflict and its resolution: Formulation of Hypotheses

13. The subject of psychopathology resulting from unresolved identity conflict will be illustrated and discussed in detail in the final report of this research, but a preliminary description is contained in Wintrob, 1968b.

14. For a description of one such case see Wintrob, 1968a, Case 4.

15. This is a subject of vital importance to the future life way of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree. The research of the Cree Developmental Change Project points to the decreasing likelihood that the Cree will be able to maintain traditional roles. They recognize the need for change because of their conviction about the declining economic viability of trapping. 'White' jobs such as

15. (cont.)
linecutting, staking and pulpcutting are viewed as alternatives and are being reinterpreted in terms of traditional values (La Rusic 1968b; Tanner 1968). An occupation such as bush pilot is highly valued by those youth who wish to retain close links with their family and region, while at the same time aspiring to more complex technological skills and wage employment. Adults also value the role of bush pilot since it contributes to the maintenance of their preferred way of life as trappers and hunters. Accordingly bush piloting can be reinterpreted as a modified traditional role.

From another point of view, a survey of interviews just completed on 34 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents and young adults with little or no experience of formal education reveals that they too recognize the decreasing viability of bush life limited to hunting and trapping. They would like to undertake job training themselves, and generally prefer that their children attend school for a prolonged period, then obtain wage employment.

16. The data collected by the Project staff indicate that there are definite limitations in this area at present, but the high potential for future exploitation of mineral, timber and water resources of the region, as well as the development of tourism and secondary industries point to

16. (cont.)

growing possibilities of employment for those Cree possessing relevant technical, professional and linguistic skills. Occupations such as heavy equipment operator, engineer, electrician, bush pilot, radio technician, accountant, teacher, secretary and nurse are only a few of the possible roles that will enable Cree students to continue to live in the region.

Research findings: a preliminary analysis

17. The comparative preponderance of Mistassini students reflects the greater size of the Mistassini band (900-1,000 people) in contrast to the Waswanipi who number only 400-500.

18. It was observed that a 'withdrawal reaction' was characteristic at points in the interview which provoked the greatest anxiety; particularly that section of the AAI relating to the student's conceptions of each parent's attitude toward his education. The student's emotional withdrawal would be reflected typically in two behavioural manifestations: 1) a trailing off of vocal tone, so that the student would whisper in a barely audible tone and would not repeat what he had whispered, and 2) turning away from the interviewer, a technique much easier for the girls than the boys, since the girls would simply turn their

18. (cont)

face to one side and hide behind their long hair (and sometimes chew it), while the boys would slump over and look at the floor. By contrast with the 'withdrawal reaction' of the younger adolescents, older students would become most anxious when asked to speculate about future social and occupational roles. At such anxiety-provoking points in the interview, these students would become visibly tense, would stammer or tremble or become flushed, talk in a tangential verbose way, or begin to cry.

19. Initials will be used in alphabetical sequence (Case A.B., Case C.D., Case E.F.) to identify students interviewed. Where necessary minor modifications in personal data are made in order to protect the true identity of students and their families.

20. He has read about flying planes and would like to try it, He is quite familiar with the bush planes that regularly land and take off near their home in summer and transport supplies to the family during the winter at their hunting territory, returning with the furs to be sold.

21. In this context work is conceptualized by Cree students as wage employment, in contrast to the traditional occupation roles of hunting, trapping and fishing.

22. An earlier interview with the mother reveals that she had wanted to take E.F. or one of his brothers into the bush so that he could learn how to hunt and trap. But each time she asked the Indian agent about it her request was refused. She was always given the same explanation; "He says nobody will be going hunting pretty soon, they'll close that up. So then the boys will still know how to get a job if they go to school. He says that if they (the band members) don't take their kids from(out of) school they'll learn more and more of the White man's ways, but if they take them out (of school) they won't learn any more." So, she says, when her kids are grown up she's going to ask the (the government) for help because she asked for her boys but they wouldn't let her have them.

23. This brother had been enticing G.H. to stop school with stories of the excitement of hunting and the gratification derived from the outstanding success he and his father had on the trapline that winter.

24. Initial contacts between the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree and the 'White' Euro-Canadian culture began in the 17th century in the form of sporadic interaction with fur traders and missionaries. During the 17th and 18th centuries trading posts were established in the region,

but frequently they remained in operation only for a few years and no permanent settlements developed. Anglican missionary activity was centered on James Bay but the French Catholic missionaries made intermittent attempts to convert the Mistassini and Waswanipi Indians.

During the 19th century the Hudson Bay Company consolidated its position in the region. The fur trade increased in volume and in its economic impact. In the 1880's Anglican missionaries came from James Bay to baptize Cree converts and to train catechists to hold religious services in their absence. From 1671, when Father Albanel first came to the Mistassini region, until the 20th century these contacts with Whites had only limited effects upon the traditional culture and social structure of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree. One important reason for this was that it was in the interests of the fur traders to encourage retention of the traditional way of life. Although the subsistence base shifted from pure hunting to a hunting-fur trapping adaptation and led to a dependence upon Euro-Canadian material goods and food stuffs (flour, sugar, and tea) , the Cree remained almost completely isolated from Euro-Canadian society.

25. The practice of having Cree students return to their families during the summer was not introduced until about 1950.

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